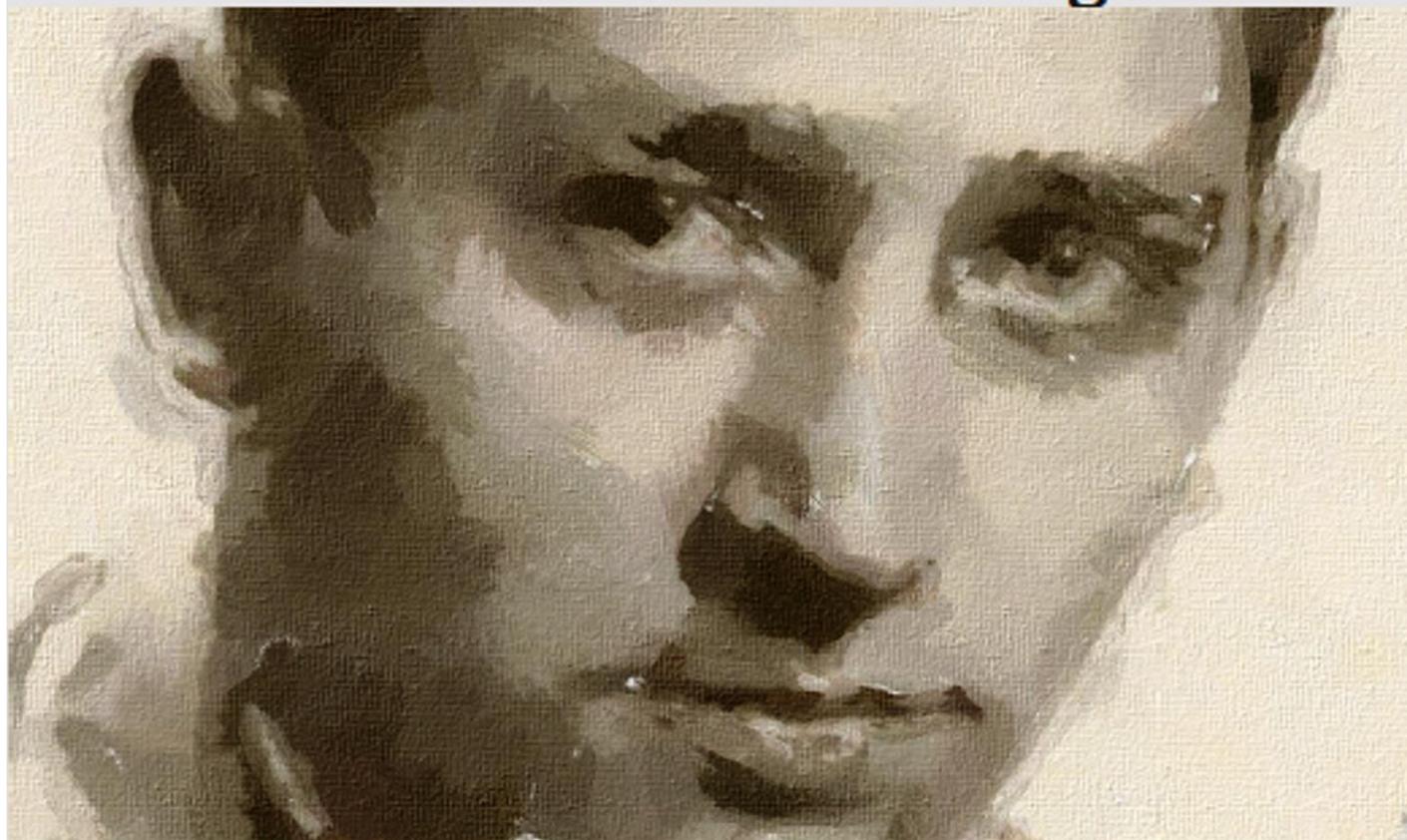


**Încălcarea drepturilor omului în
perioada Holocaustului în Jurnalul lui
Mihail Sebastian. O istorie grafică**



**Human Rights Violation During the
Holocaust in Mihail Sebastian's
Journal. A Graphic History**



Colegiul Național „Iulia Hasdeu” Lugoj - 2018



The Olga Lengyel Institute for Holocaust Studies and Human Rights

**The Olga Lengyel
Institute**



**Proiect cofinanțat de Consiliul Județean Timiș
prin Agenda Culturală**



Colegiul Național „Iulia Hasdeu” Lugoj

Animus Libri



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Human Rights Violation During the Holocaust in Mihail Sebastian's Journal. A Graphic History

Mihail Sebastian is the literary pseudonym of Iosif Hechter, a Romanian writer, of Jewish origin, born in Brăila on the 18th of October 1907.

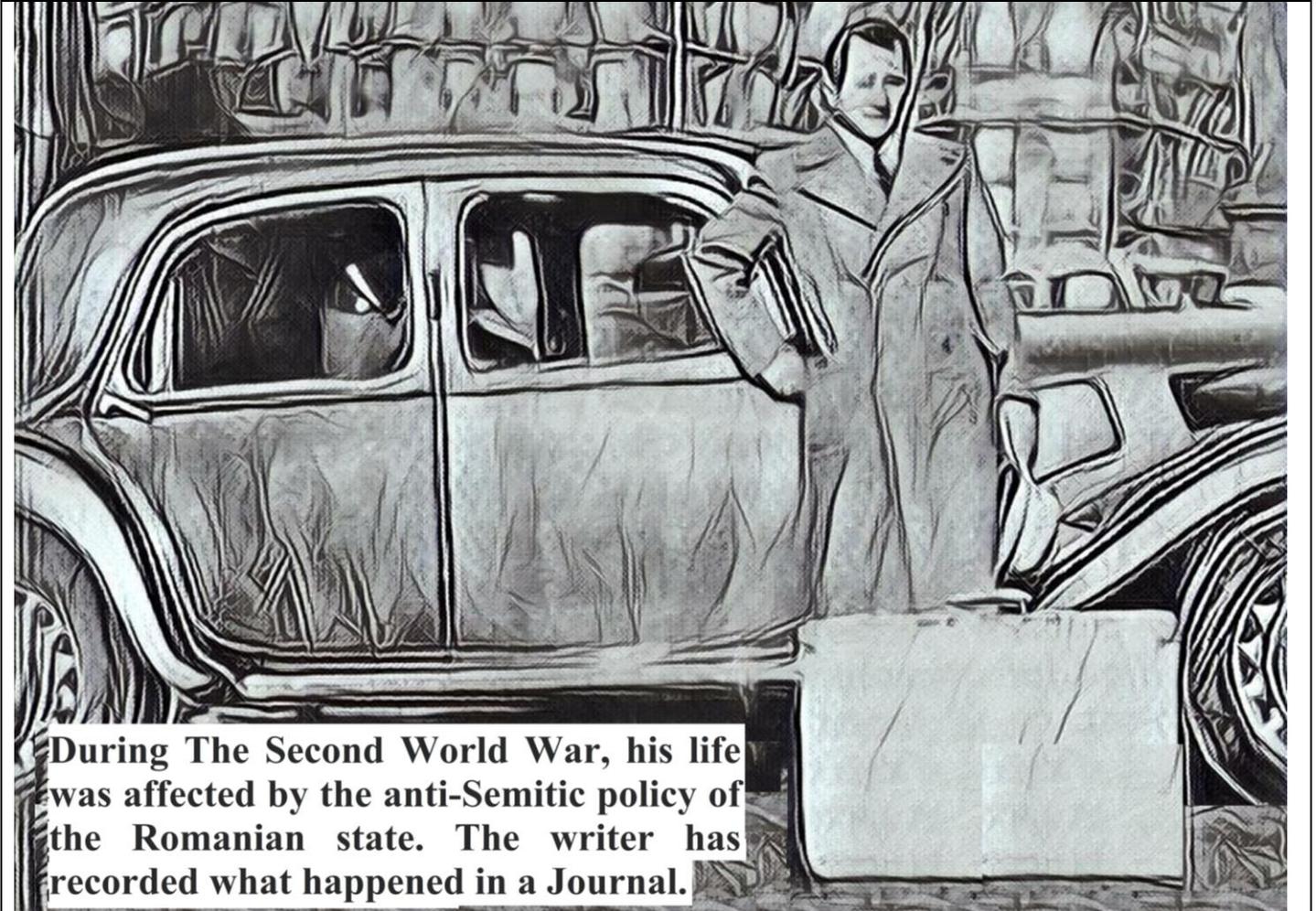
Mihail Sebastian graduated the Law school and the Philosophy school of the University of Bucharest and he worked as a lawyer. In 1926 he debuted in literature and publishing. In 1932 his first volume, *Fragmente dintr-un carnet găsit* („*Fragments from a Found Notebook*”), was released. In 1934 he publishes the volume *De două mii de ani* („*For Two Thousand Years*”). Other known pieces of Mihail Sebastian's are the novels: *Orașul cu salcâmi* („*The Acacia Tree City*”) and *Accidentul* („*The Accident*”) and the plays: *Jocul de-a vacanța* („*Holiday Games*”), *Steaua fără nume* („*The Nameless Star*”), *Ultimă oră* („*Breaking News*”).

During The Second World War and, in particular, during the Antonescu government he is affected by the anti-Semitic laws and measures and he no longer can plead as a lawyer and work as a journalist. His plays cannot be represented on stage anymore. Being in this situation, he ends up teaching as a highschool teacher at the Jewish Highschool. He continues writing, and the play *The Nameless Star* is represented in 1944 with the help of a colleague who assign the author's name.

Mihail Sebastian died at the age of 38, on 29th of May 1945, in an car accident.

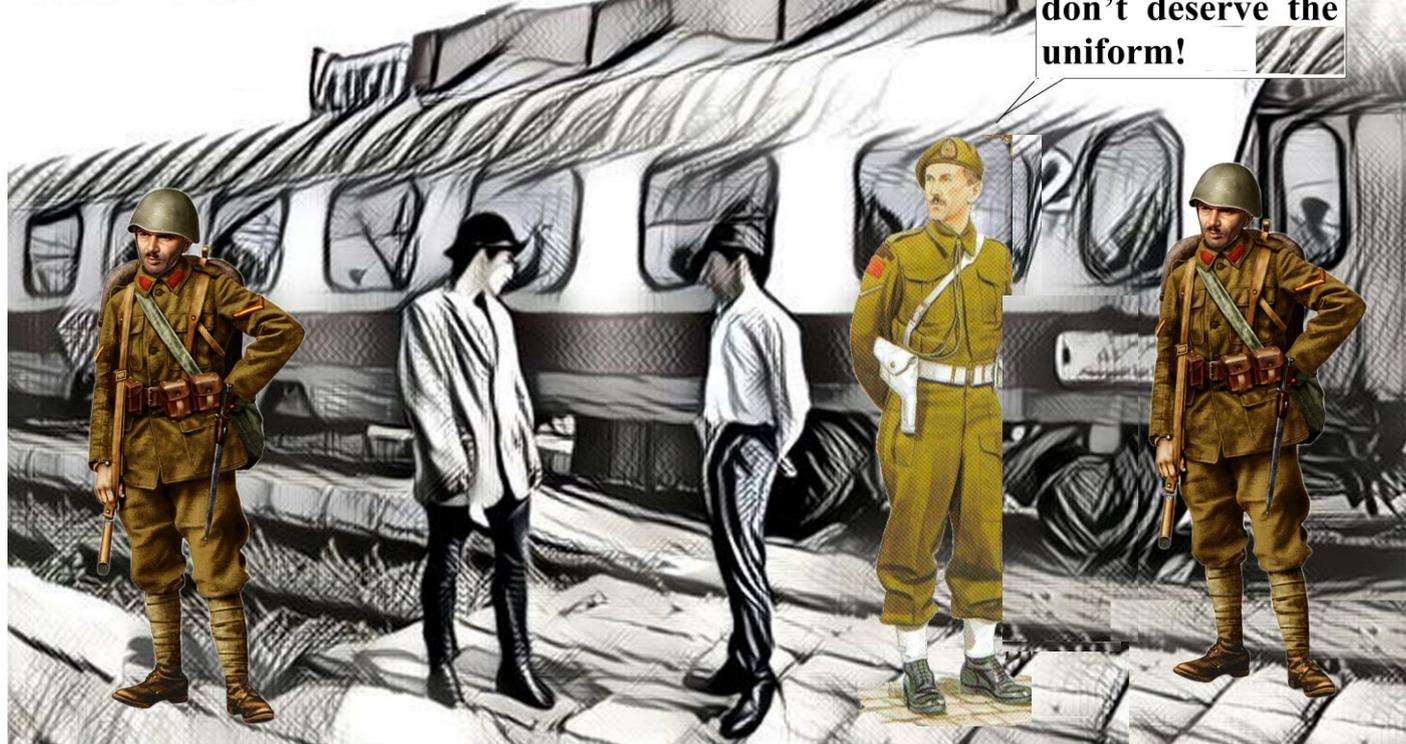
Between 1935 and 1944 the writer Mihail Sebastian kept a journal. In this Journal he noted, among other things, how he was affected by the anti-Semitic laws and measures taken by the government led by Ion Antonescu (1940-1944). The Journal records the sufferings through the Jewish community from Romania passes in this period. This is the narration from Journal.

Mihail Sebastian was a writer, of Jewish origin, from Romania of the first half of the 20th century.



During The Second World War, his life was affected by the anti-Semitic policy of the Romanian state. The writer has recorded what happened in a Journal.

Antisemitism was felt in Romanian society starting with the end of the 1930s. Mihail Sebastian was affected during the concentration in army, when he was assigned to a special Jewish detachment.



Fragment from Journal

Thursday, January 9 (1940)

Today, at the adjutant, Ghiță Ionescu - who is focused and works there - told me that the upcoming concentration on January 15 is especially made for the Jews. 1500 Jews and no Christian are called.

– I don't understand why. In time of war it goes. You make special Jewish troops to send them to the front line and decimate them. But now, what's the point? he was telling me.

I left depressed. All of it it's supportable until you start to feel smitten not as a soldier, not as a citizen, but as a Jew. Thousands, tens of thousands are called to carry stone and to dig trenches in Bessarabia and in Dobrogea.

Sunday, January 28 (1940)

Voichiță Aurel, my comrade from 21 Infantry, was telling me yesterday about captain Capșuneanu a word that summarizes a whole Romanian policy:

– He's crazy, he's bad, he beats and swears, but he has a good part: he doesn't like Jews and he lets us hit them.

It is exactly the consolation the Germans offer to the Czechs, the Poles, and they are ready to offer it to the Romanians.

Wednesday, January 1 (1941)

However, I regret that I didn't have enough bravery to continue my diary in the last half year... In the night mobilization, leaving the caserne, the road, unreal, to Oltenita, the arrival at dawn, in the rain, at Valea lui Soare, the 4 weeks there, the scenes repeated with Niculescu, with Capsuneanu, the short liberty from Bucharest in early August (with the violent feeling that "the area" and "the other life" are two absolutely different things, as if they were two foreign planets)... Then the sudden return to Oltenita, the night, the terrible night of August 11, 1940, in the station, like a nightmare that Capusuneanu and Niculescu's voices were combined in a scream... The two nights and three days of the regular train, the endless hours in the train station from Bucharest, the long turn to Prahova Valley, then to Brașov, Sighișoara, crossing Transylvania, the road to Lugoj... the day from Lugoj railway station, the torment, the endless torture on the railway station, the arrival at Boldur, the tragicomic night "The change of effects" and then the rest of the

two weeks from Boldur, culminating in returning home to a detachment of Jews... But the march from Boldur to Lugoj! But arriving from the regiment! But the morning of work at the unloading of the wagons! All now lose their tragic and grotesque intensity.



As a result of The Decree-Law of the 9th of August 1940, Mihail Sebastian is excluded from the bar of Bucharest and fired from Revista Fundațiilor Regale („The Royal Foundation Magazine”) because he was Jew. Following the appearance of this law, Jews from Romania can no longer practice their professions.

Fragment from Journal

Wednesday, January 1 (1941)

Then, it seemed to me like I will never erase the loathing, the disgust, the tiredness from my heart. I had reached to a kind of stupor which made me take without riot, as by sleep, so many kicks as following: the exclusion from bar, the firing from Foundation, the sending to dig, in a detachment of work... Perhaps I should write it all. Perhaps I should have kept all of them in mind.

Friday, September 5 (1941)

I have been at the bar to get back my diplomas from folder. It's been a year since they radiated me, and since then I have entered for the first time in court. Without emotion (I haven't got there any memories, any regrets, any hopes), but with some disgust. Amused by the guy from secretariat, who, I don't know why, has been speaking to me from time to time, in German.

– I'm not anti-Semitic. Duh! I've other outlooks. How much do you give? Wieviel? Fünf hundert?

I gave him 300- and he received them with an amusing air of generosity and long looks.



March 1941. As a consequence of the appearance of the Law of Rentals the playwright Mihail Sebastian has to leave his house.

Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, March 18 (1941)

The text from The Law of Rentals has been shown this morning in the newspapers, depressing. I don't know why the „legal” anti-Semitic measures seem to me more bitter, more humiliating than the violence, than the breaking of the windows... I have been sad all day. I am heavyhearted and not because I will have to pay a rent which is over my possibilities, not because I will, probably, have to give up my single room apartment, not because we will have to search, who knows for how long, until founding a house for moving in it, but because of this stupid cruelty, whose single purpose is making harm and mockery...

Sunday, March 23 (1941)

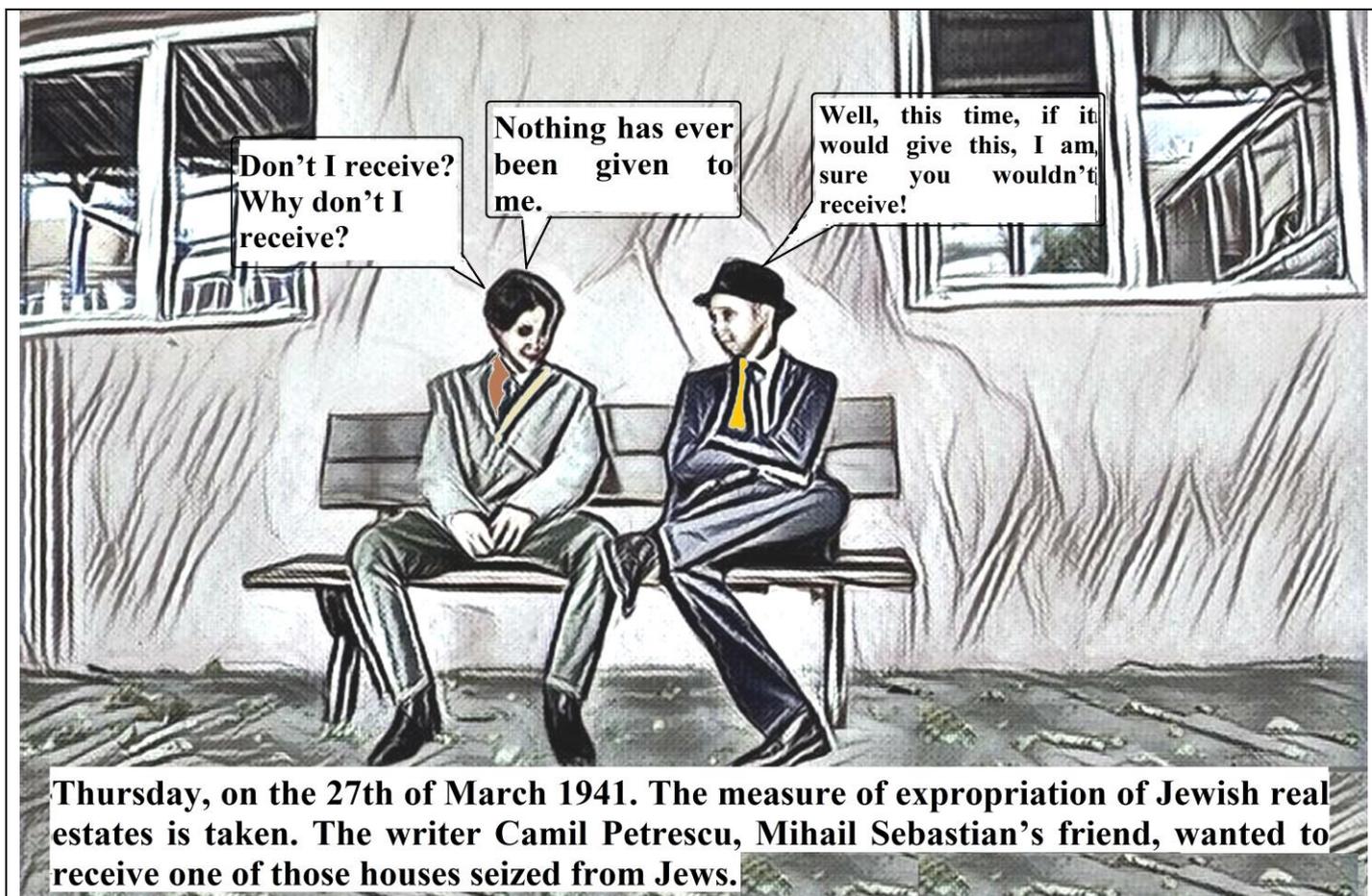
I will probably be forced to leave my studio apartment. The requirements of my owners are scarring me...

Thursday, April 10 (1941)

Autumn day. Cold, rain, cold November damp. In the house is warm, but you don't feel like „home”. After 10 days I must hand the house to the new renter. Right from the next week I will start to transport my things. I don't know where yet. I would like to have a room at my mom's house. But their apartment is too small to give something more than a bed. Neither the books nor the work table, nor the closet with clothes, fit in there... I don't know what will replace this loneliness.

Wednesday, April 16 (1941)

I'm so obsessed with the replacement that will come. This house I must leave, where I have lived in two years and a half, in which I haven't been – God knows – happy, became dear for me like a living being. I look at my stuff, as they are put here, and I have a feeling that it makes it alive, like a „presence”. It's a privacy which breaks itself, it's a bound which frees itself, it's another moment in my life that's over... Sometimes I'm telling myself that I don't have the right to make myself depressed about such a thing. We are in war...



Fragment from Journal

Thursday, March 27 (1941)

At 30 minutes past 11 this night, Radio București announced that the Jewish real estates are expropriated. The houses taken from Jews are going to be given to the teachers, to the officers, to the magistrates etc. What worries me it's not the measure itself (because nothing matters and the only essential view-point is: war), the fact that the government, taking a rough anti-Semitic measure, jumps over an entire scale of anti-Semitic blows, which they could have given in a graduated series of diversions. What could follow after such an expropriation? Maybe the organization of a ghetto. But then? Then there remains only the pogrom.

Friday, March 28 (1941)

...this feeling – no matter how precarious – of an official justice is lost. All newspapers from this morning are publishing on the first page, with enormous titles, the announcement of Jewish expropriation... What is important in Romania, today, Friday, the 28th of March, 1941, is taking the houses from Jews. The rest of it has no meaning!

- Nothing has ever been given to me, he says discouraged
- Well, this time, I reply, if it would give this, I am sure you wouldn't receive!
- Don't I receive? Why don't I receive?

He has been speaking so calmly, that I understood he saw no reason not to own a house which didn't belong to him, seized from a Jew, but he has been waiting to be given to him such a house, and it would have been a disillusion for him if it wouldn't be given.

**Sunday, April 20,
1941. The radios of
Jews are seized.**



Fragment from Journal

Sunday, April 20 (1941)

The radios are being seized. Today, The First Day of Easter, the operation has begun without any previous advertisement. It's no surprise. It was really awaited! But the blow really dejects me once again. I have been pretty unconscious, pretty childish or pretty irresponsible, because I have been living for five days with literary projects to make me dizzy with the happiness of writing, of doing projects, of dreaming the future achievements -forgetting everything that's happening around me, forgetting everything that has ever been, everything that lies ahead us...

Thursday, April 24 (1941)

...it's been four days since I didn't have a radio! I feel kind of lonely, a little perplexed, without support. The familiar voices from London were like friend's voices – and it's harder for me now when I lost them. Just this evening I could hear an English bulletin at Alice.

Sunday, August 31 (1941)

I miss the radio especially at times like these, of relative inaction, preceding new events.



Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, June 24 (1941)

In the city, on walls, on showcases, two propaganda posters... One of them represents Stalin... The second one, with the legend: „Who are the masters of Bolshevism?” – represents a Jew wearing a red kaftan, sideburns, a yarmulke, beard, holding in one hand a sickle and a hammer. Hidden under his blanket, three Soviet soldiers. I am told that the posters had been taped by the police’s sergeants.

Friday, June 27 (1941)

„Jews will be moved from the villages to Moldova”, today’s newspapers say. The measure can be extended to other regions. Huge title, headline: „The yids in labor camps”.

Saturday, June 28 (1941)

The anti-Semitic tension which is maintained and fed through newspapers, radio, posters worries me... Why? Why? I know very well „why”, but I cannot get out of my head this stupid question.



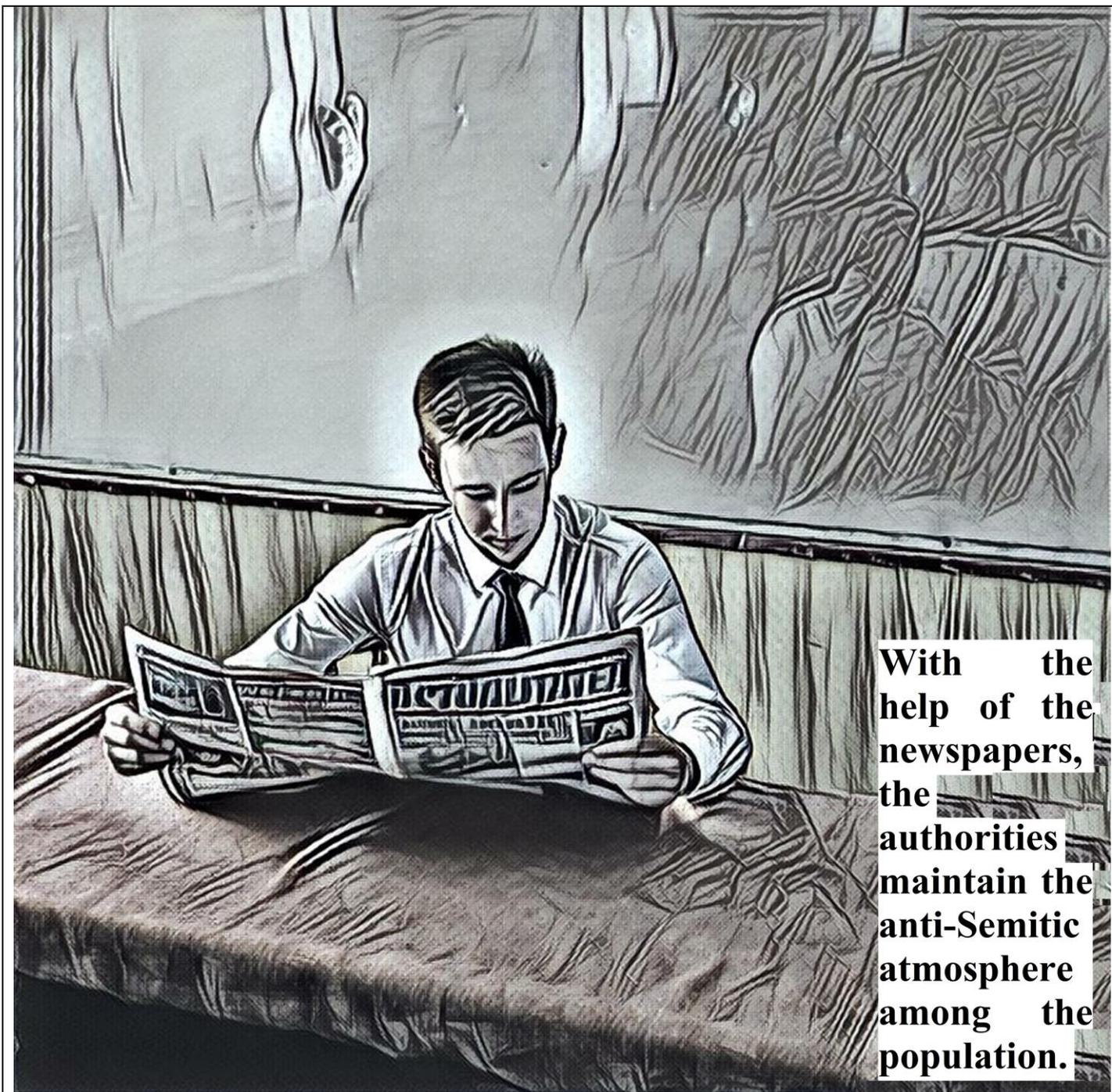
Sunday, June 29, 1941. Jews are forbidden to approach the tricolor flag.

Fragment from Journal

Sunday, June 29 (1941)

It is forbidden, starting from today, to the Jews to approach the tricolor flag and the German flag. The trucks from Police have been passing today by many neighborhoods seizing the flags. It seems that, in Huși, the Jews – how many remained there- are forced to wear a yellow distinctive sign.

I have a discontinue feeling of pressure, of agitation. I am not seeing anyone, I am not communicating with anyone. Only reading helps me to handle the anxiety.



With the help of the newspapers, the authorities maintain the anti-Semitic atmosphere among the population.

Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, July 1 (1941)

Yesterday, in the tram, the motorman saw me with a newspaper in hand.

- Have they entered in Moscow?
- Not yet. But they are surely, today, tomorrow.
- They must enter to rip the yids.

A conversation I have heard today, on the street, between a gentleman and a lady.

- So, what do you think it was stated? It was a 14-year old yid girl. She, with her hands, was throwing the bombs...

Wednesday, July 2 (1941)

Official communication, published today in all the newspapers: “In the last days there have been a few cases with elements of a foreign nation and hostile for our interests have fired against the German and Romanian soldiers. Any attempt of repeating of this cruel actions and assaults will be repressed. For each German or Romanian soldier are going to be executed 50 Jewish communists.

Wednesday, July 9 (1941)

In today's newspapers, an ordinance from Brăila's Town Hall: The Jews cannot circulate from 8 in the evening to 7 in the morning, they do not have the right to enter in coffee shops or cake shops, it is forbidden for them to visit each other, relatives or friends, and they cannot call for a doctor only calling the sergeant from the street.

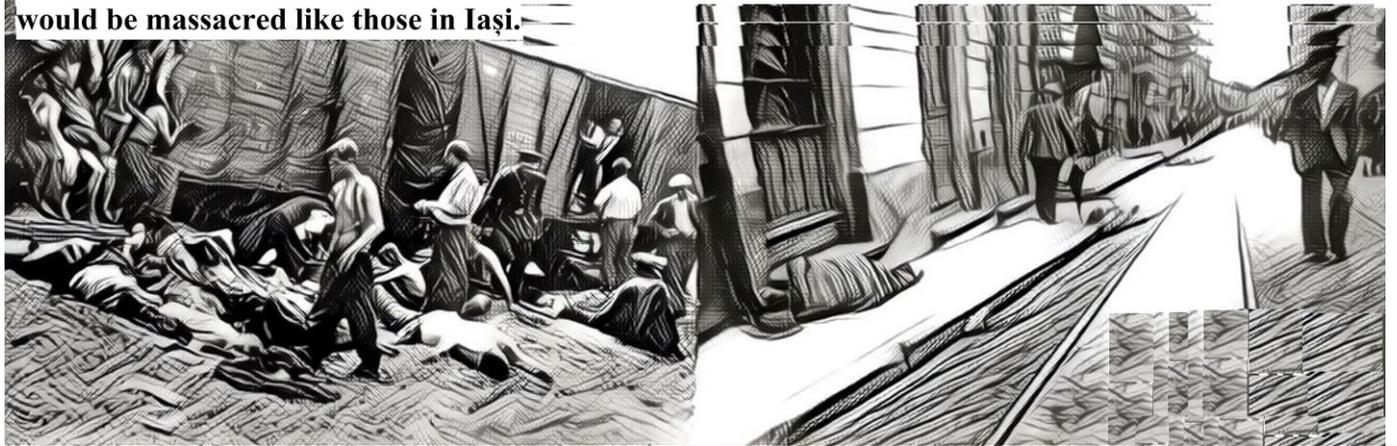
Sunday, October 26 (1941)

The morning papers release Marshal Antonescu's letter to Filderman in response to his appeal to the Jews in the Bug ghettos. This measure is not, says the document, but the right to reward the crimes and atrocities committed by Jews in Bessarabia and Bucovina, Odessa and Ukraine. „Their hate is your hate”.

Scared, perplexed, terrified. The published text is so harsh that it makes possible any act of violence against us. Tomorrow morning, we might be taken out of the houses and thrown into the ghettos - no one thinks the measure is exaggerated.



July 1941. Shortly after The Iași Pogrom, Mihail Sebastian feels panic-struck when Jews from Bucharest are called at The Police Prefecture. The writer was afraid that Jews from Bucharest would be massacred like those in Iași.



Fragment from Journal

Saturday, July 12 (1941)

It was impossible to write something here for the last four days. The simple story about the Jews who had been killed at Iasi or about those who were transported with the train there in Călărași -is beyond the words, feelings or attitudes. Dark, dismal, mad nightmare.

Saturday, August 2 (1941)

All Jews, from 20 to 36 years, are called to The Police Prefecture for this evening and tomorrow morning, with food for three days and clothes for changing. So is Benu, so am I. A moment of palsy, helpless fear, despair. And then, my old feeling of useless, of surrender in front of the disaster, of acceptance with eyes closed of the catastrophe.

Sunday, August 3 (1941)

A day of running, of fever, of strain. But quieter than yesterday. It seems that for now it really is just a concentration for work... In any case it is not, or is not yet (as I feared yesterday), the repetition of the drama in Iasi, which also with a „simple” convocation to the police had begun. We are assured that we will be treated humanely. The fact is, for the moment, there happened no brutality.

Monday, August 4 (1941)

This morning, at dawn, sergeants and commissioners walked home from home, in various districts - and the world got out of their sleep to make it clear that not only Jews from 20 to 36, but also those from 36 to 50 must go to the Prefecture. All regains the alarming air from the first time. We are again facing a real mass rise of the Jews. Camp enrollment? Extermination? The city, at about 10 o'clock, when I came out, had a strange air: some sort of nervous, strange animation. Agitated, hurried groups. Pale, indignant faces. Glances that ask without words, with the mute desperation that has become a kind of Jewish salute. I went quickly after the bargaining, to prepare the rucksacks for the afternoon, when we decided to introduce ourselves. The shops are being stormed by Jews who buy all sorts of things for leaving. After two hours there is no selling rucksacks all over town. Canned stores offer you scum. (Unable to find a sardine box.) The simplest things are instantly priced. I'm going to Văcărești's way to buy for Benu and me two dagger hats, and I notice that on the labels with the price of yesterday – 160 lei – it was written today with ink still not well dried the new price: 250.

The writer's Christian friends ensure him that they are against the anti-Semitic laws. Yet no one does anything, no one fights in, no one protests.



Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, August 5 (1941)

Madeline Andronescu...:

– I'm ashamed of you, Mihai; I'm ashamed because you suffer and I don't; I'm ashamed because you are humiliated and I'm not.

Something like this Vișoianu was telling me (and he's not sentimental) the day before yesterday, on the street, when a group of Jews had been coming out and passing by us:

– Every time I see a Jew, I am tempted to approach him, to salute him and to say „Sir, I beg you to understand that I have nothing to do with this.”

The affliction is that nobody has nothing to do with it. Everyone disapproves, everyone is revolted- but everyone is a wheel in this anti-Semitic plant that is the Romanian state, its offices, authorities, press, institutions, laws and procedures. I do not know if I have to laugh when Vivi or Braniște assure me that General Mazarini or General Nicolcescu are „amazed” about what is going on and „revolted”. But beyond astonishment or revolt, they and ten thousand others sign, ratify and achieve not only by silence or passivity, but even by direct participation. As for the great crowd, they triumph. The Jewish blood, the Jewish mockery, were excellent public entertainment.

To support the war effort of Romania, the Jewish Community was forced to give the Romanian state money, clothes, beds and other things.



Fragment from Journal

Sunday, August 10 (1941)

The government is demanding with intransigence 10 billion from Jews. And if that money cannot be found? The threat is direct, without tact. If there's no money, we might pay with our life.

Wednesday, September 3 (1941)

The Jewish population from Bucharest must give in two days 4000 beds, 4000 pillows, 4000 blankets, 8000 bed sheets, 8000 pillow sheets etc. The community is invited to collect these things – and if it will not succeed within the required time, the operation will be done by the police. Teams of „intellectuals” were formed in rush to get started.

Friday, September 5 (1941)

Cruel show in the Large Synagogue yard, where beds, mattresses, bedclothes, pillows are gathered. The worried people are always coming up with the things on the back, resigned, sad, without revolt, almost without wonder. Nobody is surprised by nothing. Authorities are unhappy: they work without dispute, without enthusiasm. Old things are being brought.

We have been warned that if we do not execute until tomorrow, the requisitions will be made directly by the army. In addition, this morning, a new request came, all the latest: 5000 suits, hats and boots.

Tuesday, September 9 (1941)

In Large Synagogue's yard, where the requisition commissions work, I am meeting all sorts of old, known figures, in the university, in the stationery... I was after dinner with Ceacăru through some Jewish houses to get beds, clothes, lingerie. Embarrassing and sad. I didn't have the courage to insist and I surrender to the first protests.

Thursday, October 30 (1941)

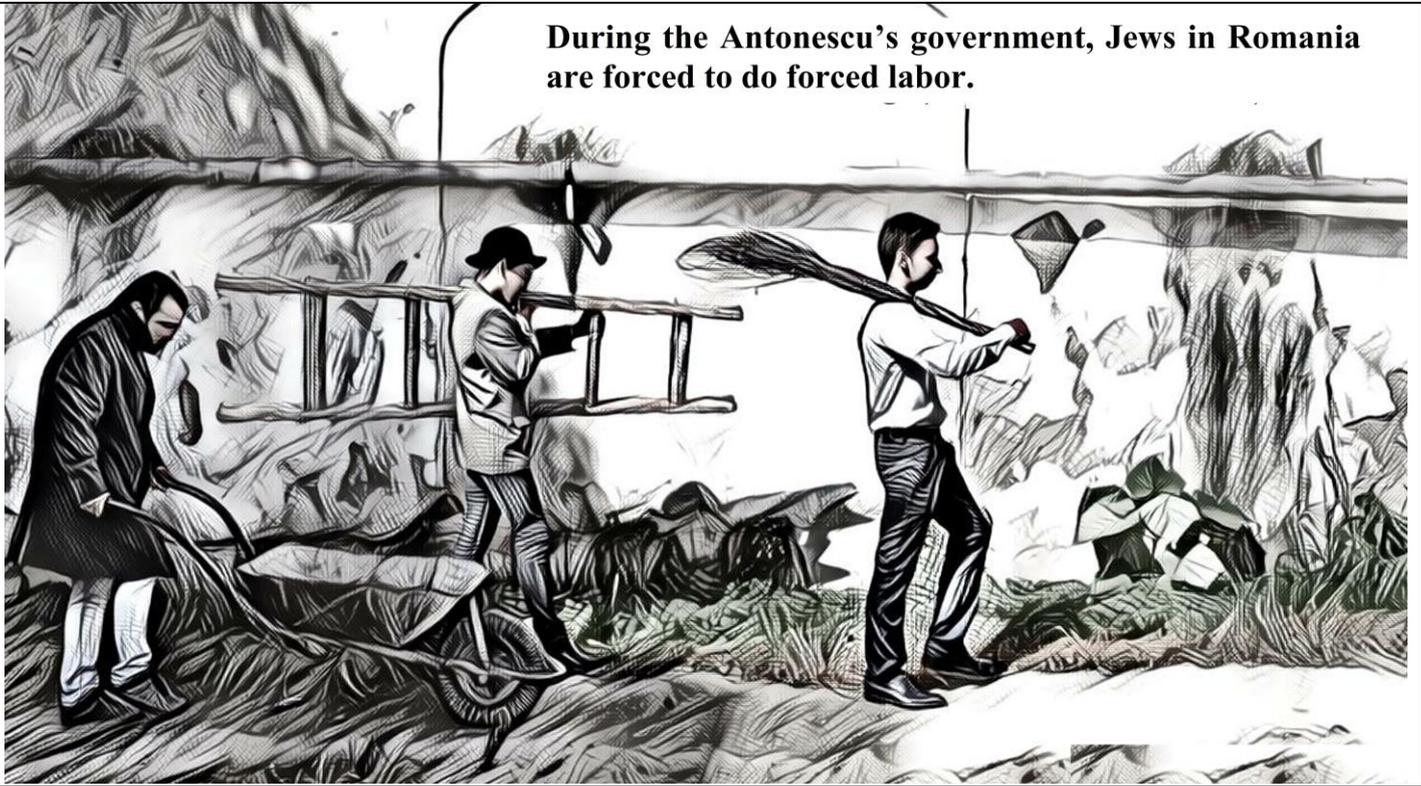
Yesterday, the finance minister summoned ten Jewish leaders in his cabinet, headed by chief rabbi Filderman. He welcomed them without telling “Hello”, without shaking their hand, without inviting them

to sit. He yelled at them and didn't let them speak. Especially with Filderman was extremely harsh. He told them again the Jewish population has to subscribe 10 billion to the loan and he gave them one month to execute.

Tuesday, March 10 (1942)

In tram, in the evening, coming home, I saw in the newspaper a new law of the reunification tax, which imposes on Jews a quadruple payment than the other taxpayers.

During the Antonescu's government, Jews in Romania are forced to do forced labor.



Fragment from Journal

Monday, August 11 (1941)

We are called again to work, this time through an official communication given by the Circle of recruitment. We will present in the order of age, all of us, from 18 to 50 years. Benu's turn comes on Wednesday, mine on Friday. I think that this time it cannot be avoided. I receive this happening with calm. At least now.

Thursday, August 25 (1941)

We are called again at work. I found this morning in newspapers the communication of the Circle of recruitment. Newspapers posters are announcing, on the street, with huge letters: „The Jews between 18 and 50 years – etc., etc.” Benu has to present the day after tomorrow; me, on Monday. For now, I don't know much more. Are we remaining in Bucharest? Are we leaving? Where?

Tuesday, August 26 (1941)

It seems that the majority of the young Jews present at The Circle (18-21 years) were retained in Bucharest to work at Polygon... I am waiting worried to see what's happening with me and with Benu. If he is distributed at a local detachment, I am pleased. Only the leaving from town scares me.

Wednesday, August 27 (1941)

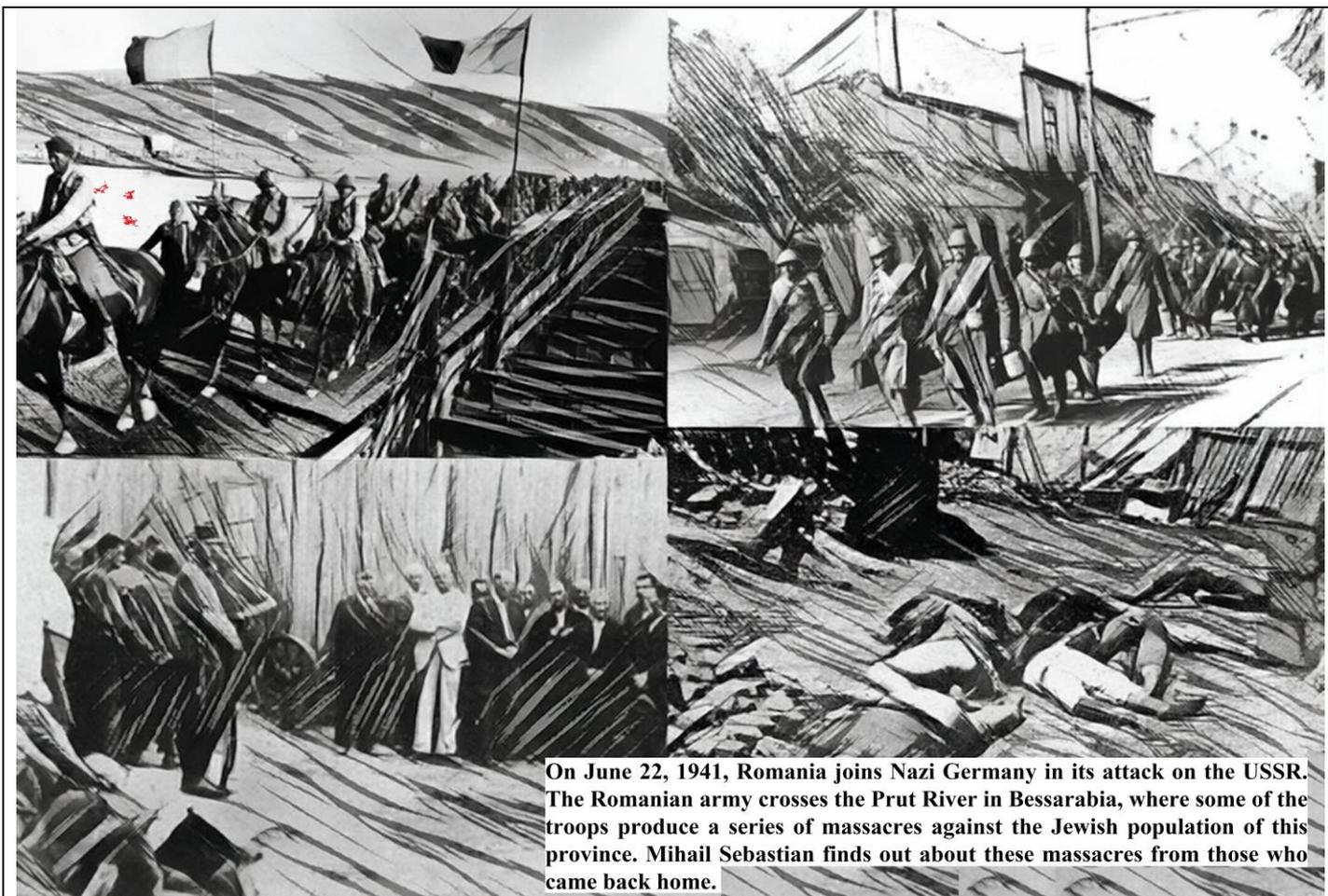
I started to feel the restlessness of the leaving. I am afraid that my attempts are remaining useless. Benu is going tomorrow morning. The boys in his contingent were assigned to Dadilov, Fierbinți, Videle. Can he be stopped to Bucharest? Chances are very low. Myself, which I considered to be somehow defended by my quality of teacher, I do not know if I can escape.

Thursday, August 28 (1941)

Benu is distributed to Fierbinți. He's leaving tomorrow morning.

Wednesday, September 3 (1941)

I don't know how the comedy of leaving to work will be finished. The recruitment operations are continuing slowly at Circle, complicated, with all sorts of hidden actions, arrangements, business. It's a huge grant that everybody plays. I am waiting to see if the highschool will obtain the exemption for teachers. It was asked from us money- 10000 per teacher- but even so, nothing is sure.



On June 22, 1941, Romania joins Nazi Germany in its attack on the USSR. The Romanian army crosses the Prut River in Bessarabia, where some of the troops produce a series of massacres against the Jewish population of this province. Mihail Sebastian finds out about these massacres from those who came back home.

Fragment from Journal

Thursday, August 15 (1941)

Breakfast at Alice's with Vicky Hillard, lieutenant of cavalry, who came back yesterday from the front, from Ukraine... A lot of things about the massacre of Jews across and beyond the Nistru. Tens, hundreds, thousands of Jews shot. He, simple lieutenant, could have killed or ordered to kill as many Jews as possible. The driver, who brought him to Iași, shot four.

Friday, August 22 (1941)

What strange thing seems to me - now that I think better - the silence with which Hillard had told yesterday the assassinations and the massacre of the Jews in Bessarabia. (Among other things, a captain of his regiment shot a young Jewish girl because she did not want to sleep with him...) Only now I remember that Hillard is a Jew after his father - and I think that he was still in front of all the horrors, without going crazy, or even without sobbing.

Saturday, August 23 (1941)

Communiqué of the Ministry of the Interior: „On the order of Mr. Ion Antonescu, the Head of State, it is known that if there is any act of sabotage committed by Communists, 20 Jewish Communists and 5 non-Jewish Communists.

**Tuesday,
September 9, 1941.**
The authorities are telling the Jewish community that all Jews must wear the star with six corners. Later, this order was dropped.



Fragment from Journal

Monday, August 11 (1941)

After the Jews from Chernivtsi, and those from Iași are forced to wear the „Magen David”. It is said that the measure will be extended very soon to Bucharest and to the rest of the country.

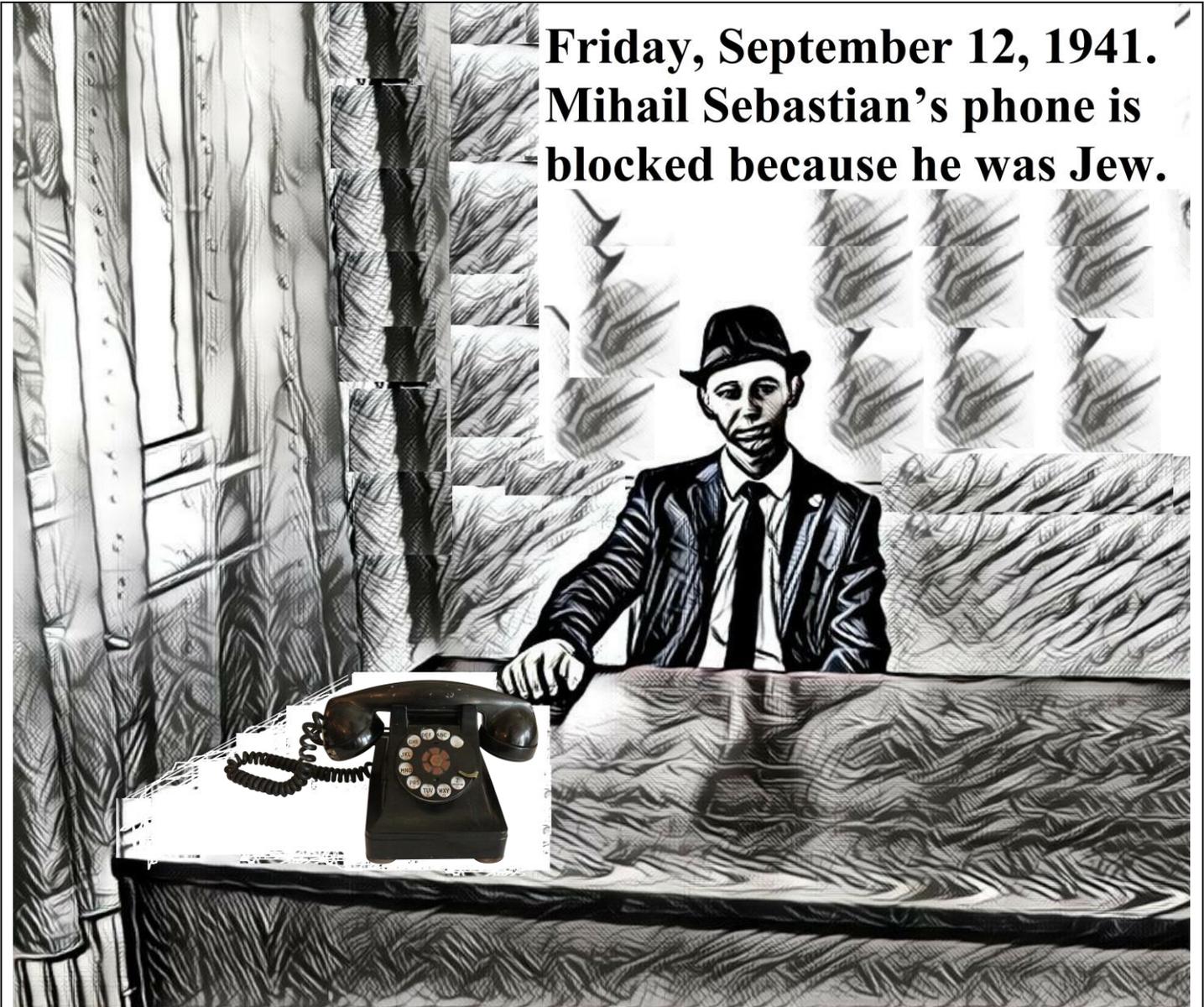
Friday, September 5 (1941)

...Finally, still this morning, it has been communicating to the Community that starting from Wednesday we need to wear, sewing on clothes, on left, up, a patch of cloth with the „six-pointed star”. I got home poisoned.

Tuesday, September 9 (1941)

From tomorrow morning we will have to wear the „six-pointed star”. The order had been given to the Community and communicated to the police commissariats. However, following a recent audience of Filderman to the Leader, it was returned. It is no pleasure for me to come back. I used to wear a yellow patch with a „Magen David”. I imagine all the inconveniences, all the risks, all the dangers, but after a first alarming moment, not only I didn't resign, but I started seeing it as a sign of a piece of identity. Much more: a kind of medal, a badge that testifies to me, the desolation of current infamousness, the lack of responsibility, the innocence.

**Friday, September 12, 1941.
Mihail Sebastian's phone is
blocked because he was Jew.**



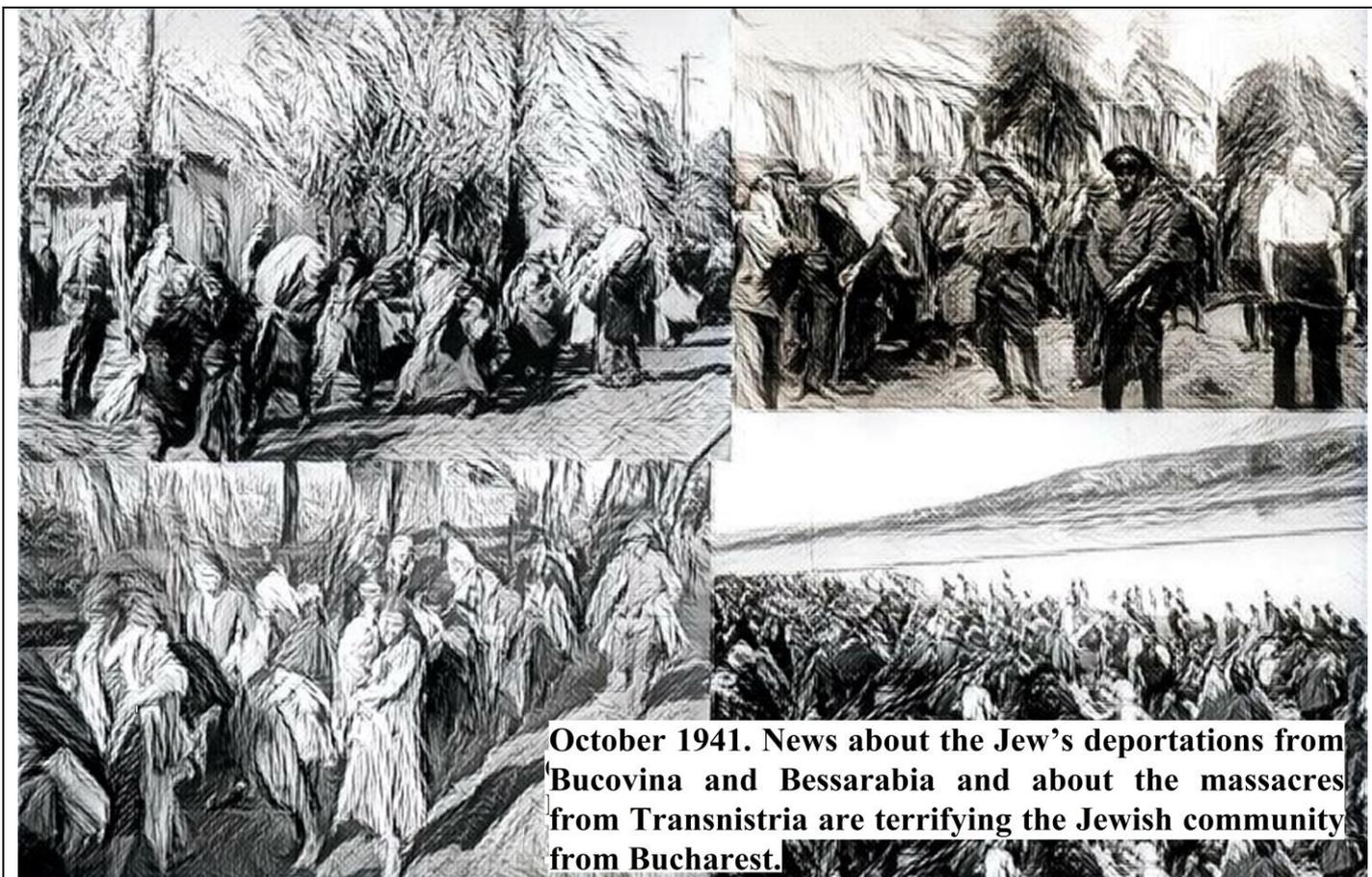
Fragment from Journal

Friday, September 12 (1941)

They have blocked my phone today, after that – because of an error probably – they let it open for two months. „If Mr. Sebastian is Jew, the phone will be blocked”, someone from the Society has said to my Mother. And, two hours later, the operation had been done.

Sunday, September 14 (1941)

The absence of my phone is upsetting me. It breaks my few bonds which I still had. But I will get used immediately with this.



October 1941. News about the Jew's deportations from Bucovina and Bessarabia and about the massacres from Transnistria are terrifying the Jewish community from Bucharest.

Fragment from Journal

Monday, October 13 (1941)

The Jews of Bukovina are gathered through various fairs (Vatra Dornei, Câmpulung, Gura Humorului) and they are on the road to an unknown target. To Transnistria, they say. God knows what awaits us during this winter, which has not yet begun and now, seems terribly long to me.

Friday, October 18 (1941)

The Jews from Gura Humorului were sent to Moghilev – says Fanny Schnarch, complaining to his parents and sister of whom he knows nothing. The sharp feeling of danger, of everyday insecurity, of every clock. You wish to sleep, to get somewhere under the ground, to let the time pass over you. All our struggle to living is so vain if no light - how far- is no longer visible.

Monday, October 20 (1941)

Depressing news... The roads of Bessarabia and Bukovina are full of the bodies of the Jews rushed from their homes to Ukraine. Elders, children, sick, women – all without choice, without exception are thrown on the roads and sent to Mogilev. What will they do there? Where will they feed? Where will they be housed? Death by shooting it's a much milder fate. Yesterday I learned that all the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina must leave Bucharest and go to Ukraine and Transnistria. This morning it was mentioned that it was just about those who came after January 1940. Why? no one knows, and almost no one else asks. It's an anti-Semitic dementia that nothing can stop. There is nowhere a brake, no reason. If there existed an anti-Semitic program that would be good. You know how far you can go. But it's just pure bestiality without control, no shame, no conscience, no purpose, no target. Anything, absolutely anything, is possible. I'm seeing on the Jewish faces the fear.

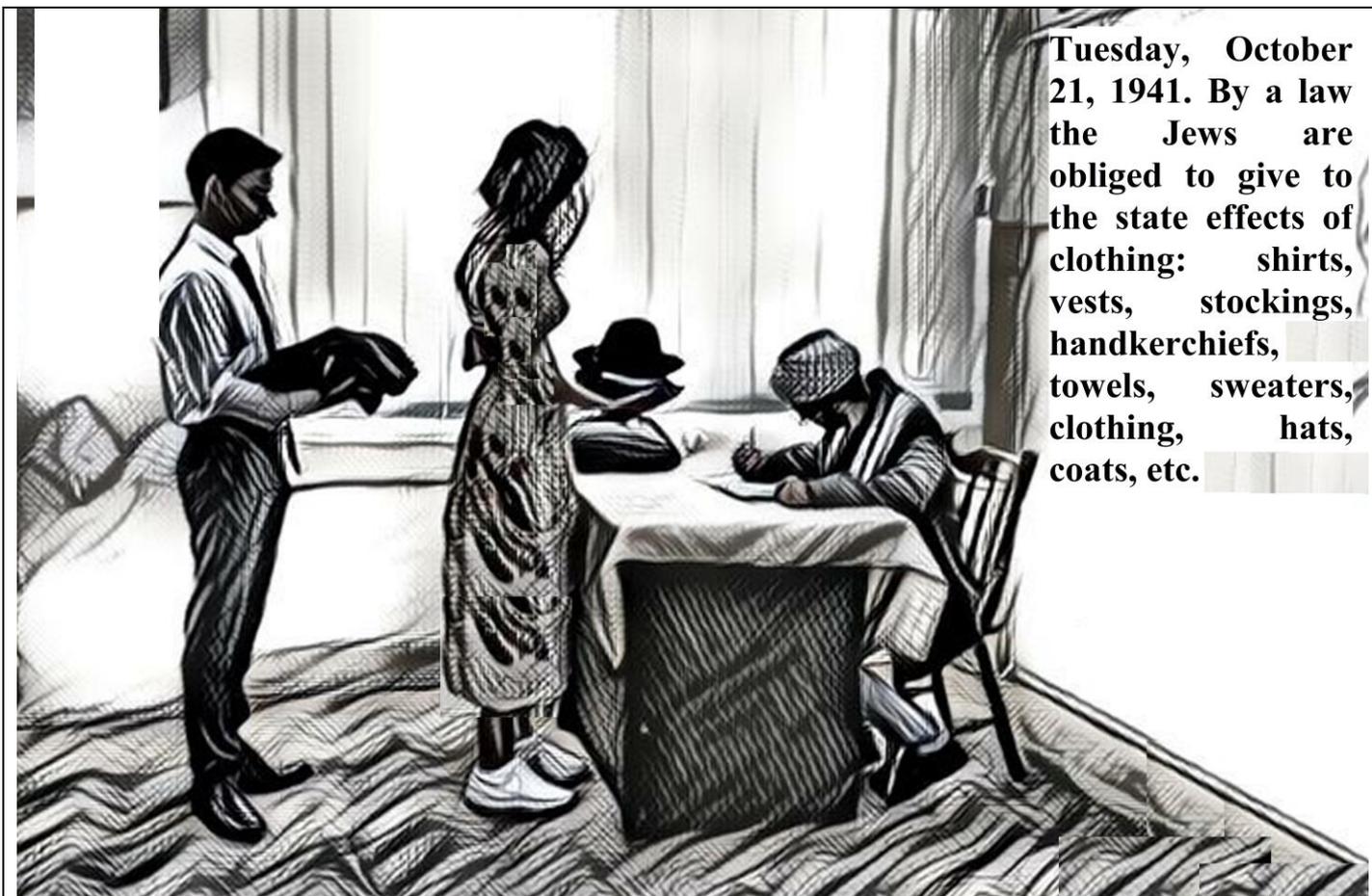
Tuesday, October 28 (1941)

Vicky (the second secretary of Roman) has been telling me that a friend of hers, officer returned from Transnistria, is horrified by what he had been seeing there.

– They had order to shot all Jews, but he had mercy, so much it horrified the massacre that, having to execute one hundred Jews, he ordered to the soldiers to shot them immediately, without torture them.

Wednesday, October 29 (1941)

Details about the Jews' expulsion from Gura Humorului. (Fanny told us, who has news from her parents and her sister, who came alive to Moghilev.) On Friday, October 10, people were quietly sleeping. Nothing unusual happened on that day, nor in the previous days. After midnight, they were awakened from sleep by the drums which were beating on the streets. People went out not knowing what was happening. It was ordered to the Jews that up to 3 in the morning to be at the train station. In two hours they had to do their boots, close the houses and leave. They handed their keys from their houses and the bulletins of the population at the station. There was a serial number instead of each person. Then they were on the train. Some of the way they did it by rail. The rest on foot. They had passed the Nistru in boats. They always sold their clothes to have what to eat. One bread was hardly to found at the price of 800 lei. Now I am at Moghilev: how many have space in houses, are in the houses. How many haven't, are in the field. They are waiting there to be back on road, it is not yet known to what destination... What is it following? Simply our extermination?



Tuesday, October 21, 1941. By a law the Jews are obliged to give to the state effects of clothing: shirts, vests, stockings, handkerchiefs, towels, sweaters, clothing, hats, coats, etc.

Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, October 21 (1941)

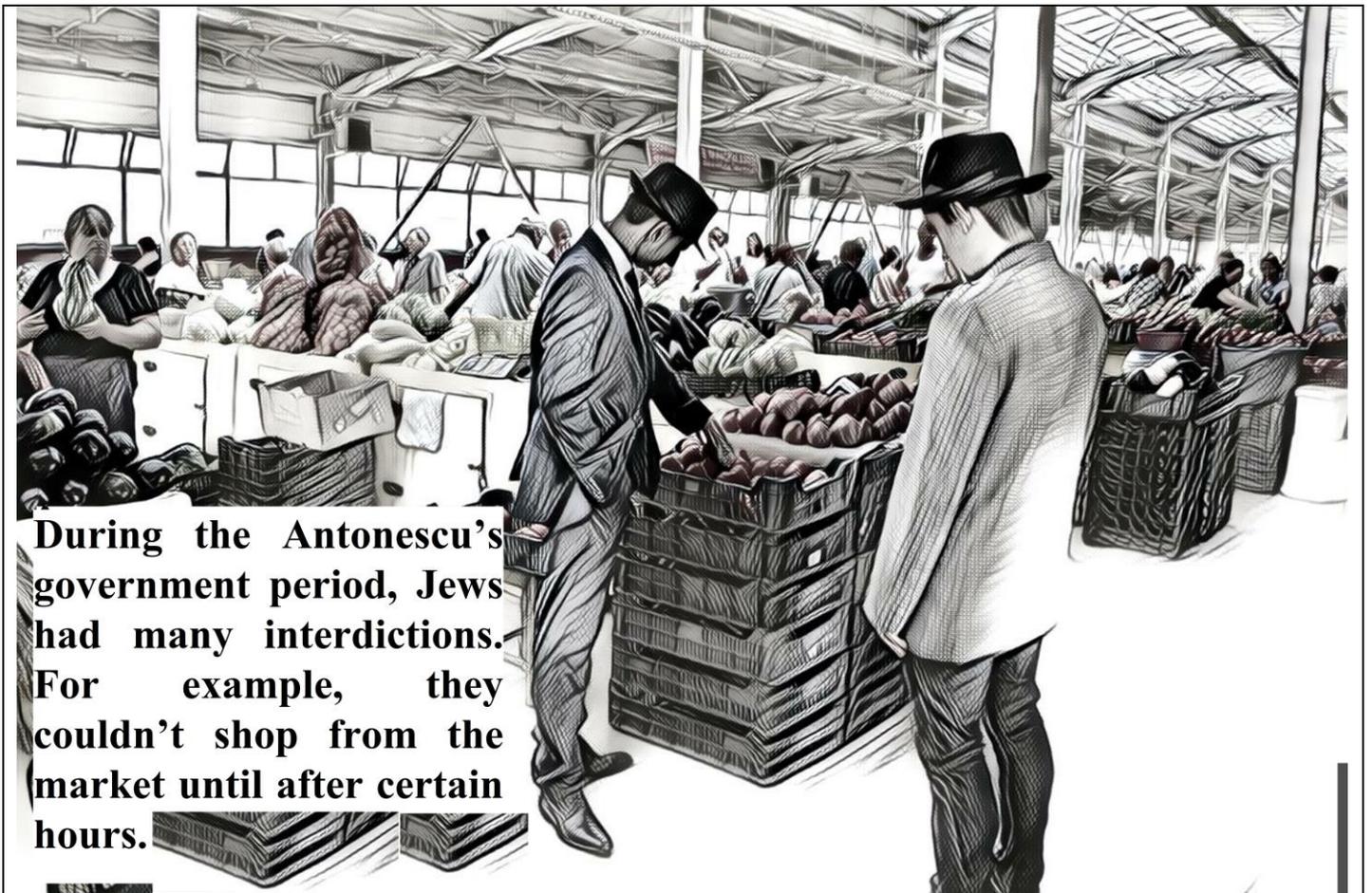
All Jews are forced – a law appeared today in the evening newspapers says – to hand to the state effects of clothes. The required quota is set for 7 distinct categories: from those who have no income up to those who have an annual income of 500,000. It would be hard to transcribe all the text, which is still an anti-Semitic matter perhaps the most unexpected, extravagant thing I've ever read. A man, a Jew, who wins 100,000 lei per month is obliged to give: 4 shirts, 10 pairs of jeans, 4 pairs of stocks, 4 handkerchiefs, 4 towels, 4 sweaters, 3 suits, ...2 hats, 2 coats, 2 wool blankets, 2 mattress sheets, 2 pillow sheets, 2 bed sheets. The numbers in the last category are the most unbelievable: 36 shirts, 12 costumes, 12 coats... It's so grotesque that I do not know if it's a hoax.

Thursday, October 23 (1941)

There are people who are preparing to buy coats, the clothes, the boots etc. asked by the law (Aristide, Paltin...). I cannot even think about this. Where to get money? Isn't the prison simpler?

Monday, November 17 (1941)

Bad day. Depression. I haven't got any money and I wonder where I'll get. There are 4 days for handing the shirts, the jeans, the socks etc. We should buy the clothes who are missing, but with what? Sometimes, I have a helplessness sensation which paralyses me. I cannot see anything in front, all the roads are blocked, all of it is for nothing – and the thought of suicide seems the only escape.



During the Antonescu's government period, Jews had many interdictions. For example, they couldn't shop from the market until after certain hours.

Fragment from Journal

Friday, November 7 (1941)

It is said that it will be two hard days for the Jews. However, in the last 2-3 days nothing against us had happened. An ordinance published today in all of the newspapers announces the interdiction of cutting the birds from the kosher butcher and selling them – alive or cut – in the Jewish neighborhoods.

Wednesday, November 12 (1941)

A City Hall's ordinance forbids the Jews to bargain in the market excepts certain hours (10-12) and provides punishments for the Oltenians who would still sell them, transgressing this ban. You are asking yourself everyday what will happen against us. It needs a lot of imagination to find something new. Indeed, since with expropriation of the estates, since with the deportations and assassinations – the rest becomes grotesque, puerile, stupid. It is not depressing anymore. There is sometimes something diabolical in anti-Semitism – but now, when we do not swim in the blood, we swim in those simple dealings.

**Monday, December 1,
1941. The Romanian
state is seizing the Jew's
skis.**

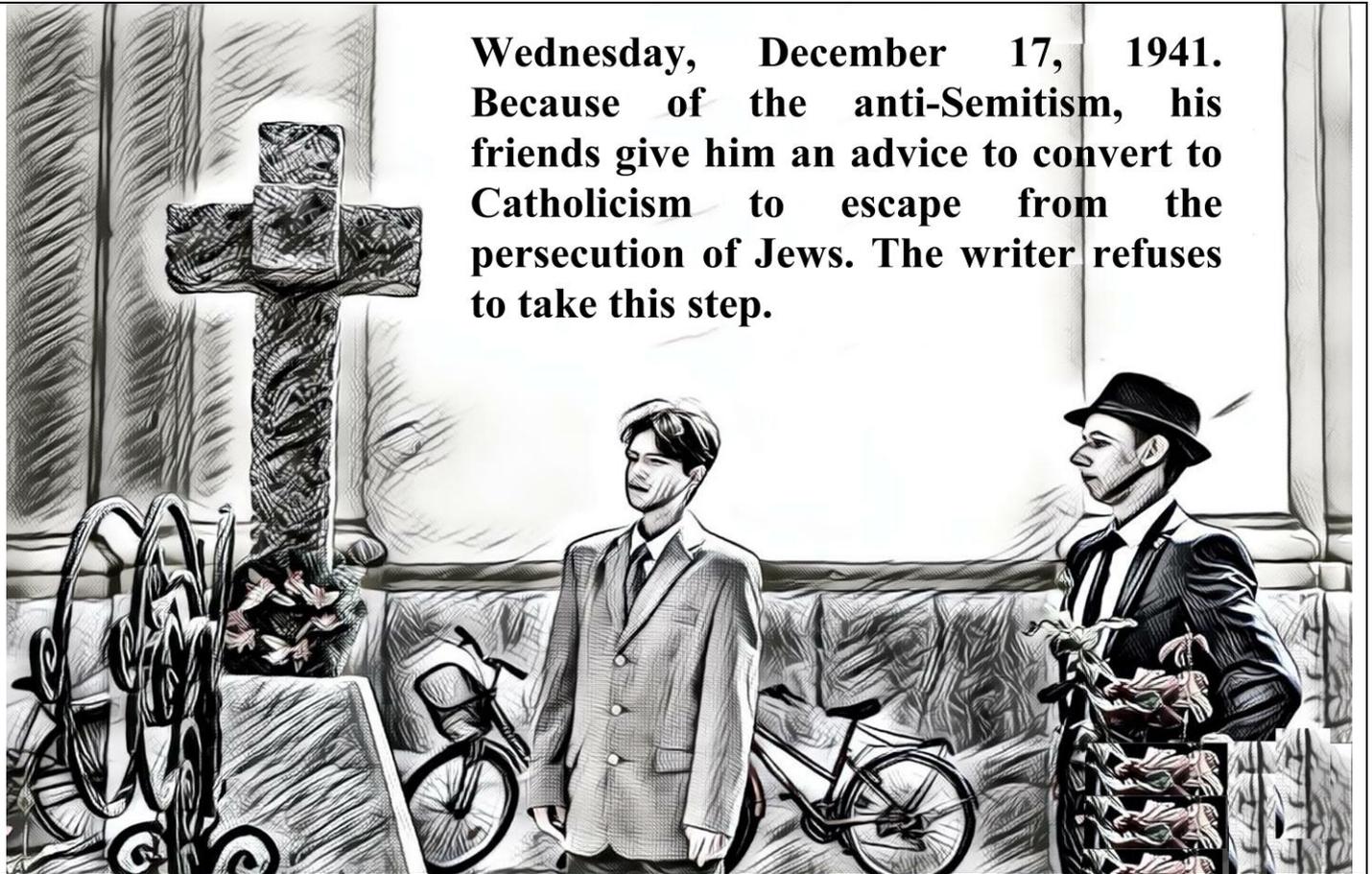


Fragment from Journal

Monday, December 1 (1941)

The skis are seizing from Jews. An ordinance forces to hand them immediately to the Community.

Wednesday, December 17, 1941.
Because of the anti-Semitism, his friends give him an advice to convert to Catholicism to escape from the persecution of Jews. The writer refuses to take this step.



Fragment from Journal

Wednesday, December 17 (1941)

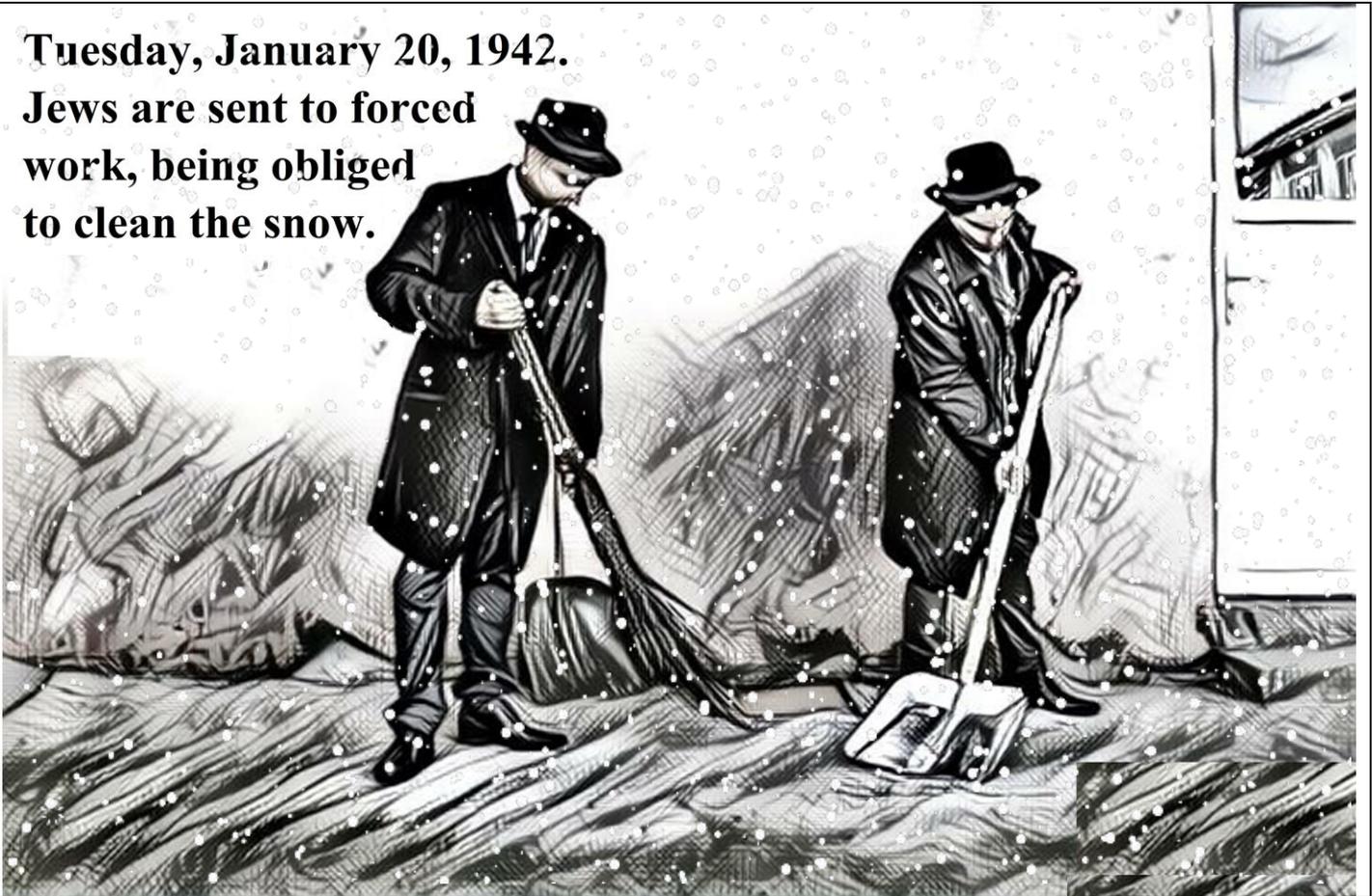
Union of Communities is dissolved and replaced by a „Central”. A new census of all of the „Jewish blood” inhabitants is starting. I believe Zissu takes part in all these events. Go to Catholicism! Go to Catholicism as fast as possible! Pope defends you! He is the only one who can escape you. Since a few days I always hear the same words. This morning Comşa, today’s evening Aristide and Alice asked me with great earnestness what I was waiting for. I don’t need arguments to answer them, nor do I look for them. Even if this thing hadn’t been so grotesque, even if it hadn’t been so stupid and in vain – I still wouldn’t have had any arguments. Somewhere, in an island with sun and shadow, in full peace, in full security, in full happiness, it would be the same thing to me if I am Jew or if I am not. But here, now, you cannot be anything else. And I think I do not even want to.

Thursday, December 18 (1941)

Lady Mică and her husband are baptizing. Muni Goldschläger has been speaking to me this evening about the baptizing as a solution. She claims that in Bukovina Christian Jews were not deported.

Tuesday, January 20, 1942.

Jews are sent to forced work, being obliged to clean the snow.



Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, January 20 (1942)

„A new press release regarding Jews” yell the newsboys on the streets. All Jews, „without any sort of exception” are bound to work 5 days to clean snow. „Any irregularity will lead to the expulsion of the Jews from the country”. „The Jews whom will be found without proof of having completed the five days of work in the snow will form the first battalion of Jewish workers who will leave Transnistria in spring.”

Wednesday, January 28 (1942)

Measures are taken towards recruiting Jews to clean the snow. Raids have taken place today on the streets and within households. I refuse to present myself. However long I can postpone, I will.

Wednesday, March 4 (1942)

First day of working the snow. Completely drained. Leaving home at 5 and a half in the morning, we came back at 8 in the evening. The work in itself is a joke (we do it somewhere on a triage line, beyond the Grivița stop). Standing is so exhausting, the walk, the wait, the formations. Coming back, packed trams passed us by, without us having the strength to hang onto them. Never has Antim Street seemed so far away.

Thursday, March 4 (1942)

Very tired, but not like yesterday. Things begin to organize – which reduces a lot the time lost with various formalities (call, evidence, visa...), I went out in the morning at half past six and in the evening, at six I was home. If we train, we may be less tired. I wean the physical effort. The detachment itself is one comedy. As an atmosphere, it seems exactly like the Polygon detachment of October 1940. The work is even more useless than it was there. We move the snow from one place to another – an operation of absolute frustration. If we hadn’t seen so many in the last few years – I would have died of laughter.

Sunday, March 8 (1942)

Snow storm. Winter is back. Today, on the field, (although we were back at 2 o'clock on Sunday), I have been feeling more tired and frozen than ever. The first 5 days of work have passed. We still have 5, which it seems to me very long. The comedy of the detachment has nothing new to tell me.

Monday, March 9 (1942)

In the morning I worked at Grivița way station, where I cleaned the fresh snow from the platforms. After - we returned to "Sector 6," where - even withdrawn - we can do what we want. The main operation was to move the snow from one line to another.

Tuesday, March 10 (1942)

Working at the „snow train” – an operation which in the first days, seeing others, it seemed to us terribly hard. In reality it is easier, moreover, more training that I expected. We filled few wagons by playing. We took it as a sport. I think that I’m feeling trained. Last week I wouldn’t have been able to have today's performance. Unexpected, slowly, I become a railroad worker, worse than that, a scavenger, a rail cleaner. I am almost no longer sensitive to the situation. Once, while at a few hundred yards I saw the train from Constanța, I was surprised thinking that two years ago I was there too, I could be a traveler, to look indifferently from the window of the compartment how I let behind me along the line people with a pickaxe and a shovel, people without names, without identity. What's terrible is that beyond these ten days that will pass, which have almost passed, we are waiting for the old miseries and fears.

Friday, March 13 (1942)

This is the 10th day of snow. It had passed harder than the rest of them. On Wednesday and on Thursday we had sun, but today has been a cold, livid, cloudy, leaden day. I feel the cold in my bones. And I am very, very, tired. But I have in my pocket a “C.F.R. certificate” with ten blue stamps and one red, which shows that “I worked at the snow cleaning in Bucharest Grivița Station from 4 to 13 March 1942”.



**Thursday,
October 1, 1942.
The Jewish
families must
fire their
servants. Mihail
Sebastian's
family gives up
on their maid,
Octavia.**

Fragment from Journal

Thursday, February 5 (1942)

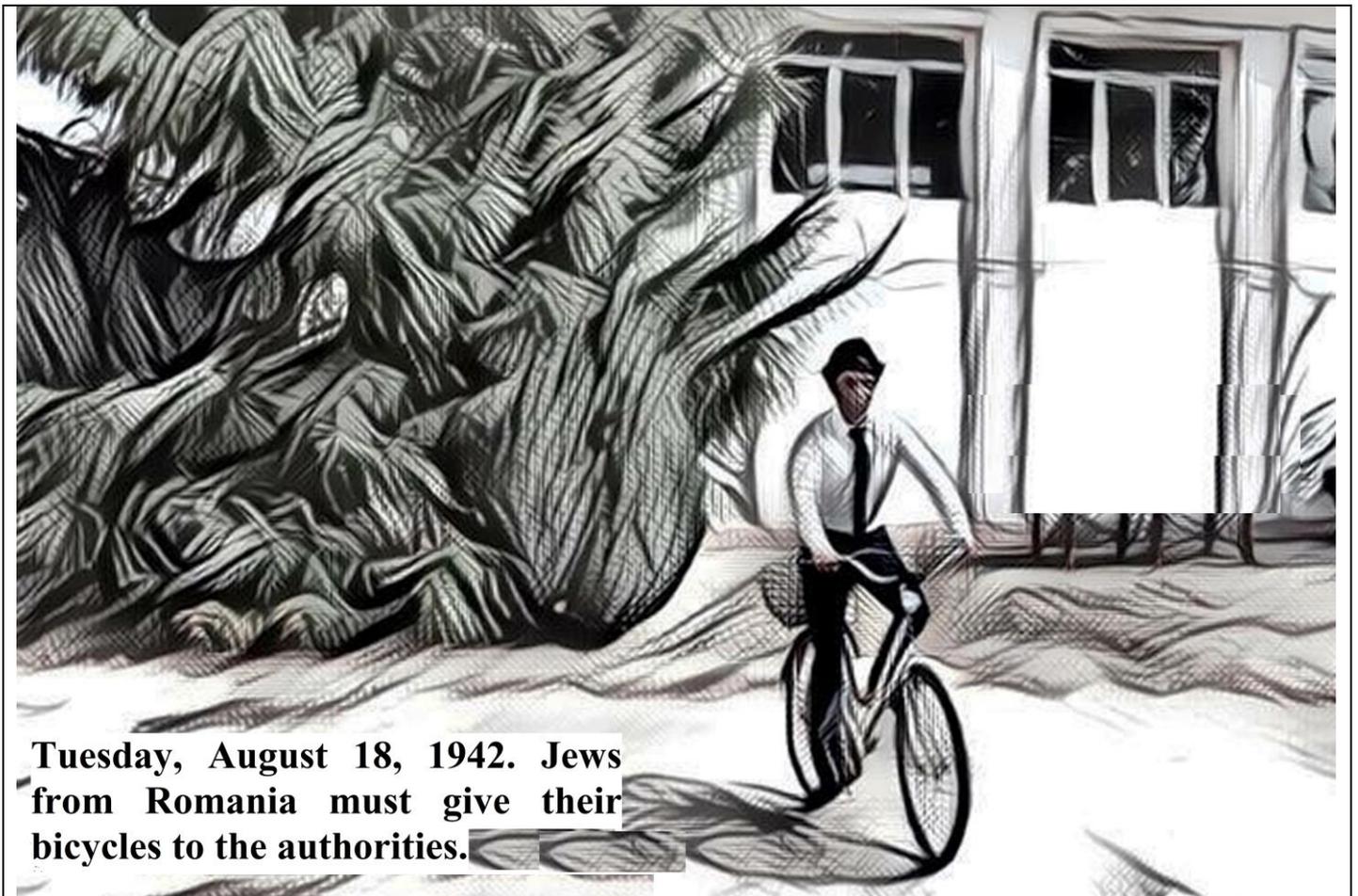
On Tuesday, in the noon, called at the police station for telling me the firing of our housemaid. „Jews are not allowed to hire servants.” Two embarrassing hours of disproportional, ridiculous fear. My inhibitions of a Romanian Jew are paralyzed.

Sunday, August 23 (1942)

The week finished today brought three anti-Semitic measures: expensive bread, seized bicycles and – from the day before yesterday – the interdiction of having servants starting from the 1st of October. The fact that it is setting a kind of a series in which new measures of oppression are becoming automatic is alarming. You are asking yourself what's coming.

Thursday, October 1 (1942)

This morning has left Octavia, our housemaid, a young 18-year old country girl who was feeling so good in our house. She cried like a child. Life will be harder. All kind of daily miseries, little, of course, but insoluble, it raises: sweeping, the washing the dishes, washing the clothes, dealings. Poor mom is too sick and exhausted, we are too clumsy. We'll sweep, we'll arrange the bed, we'll wash the dishes, but who will wash the clothes? But it's enough to think about deportation because this to became supportable. It isn't tragic. It's only grotesque.



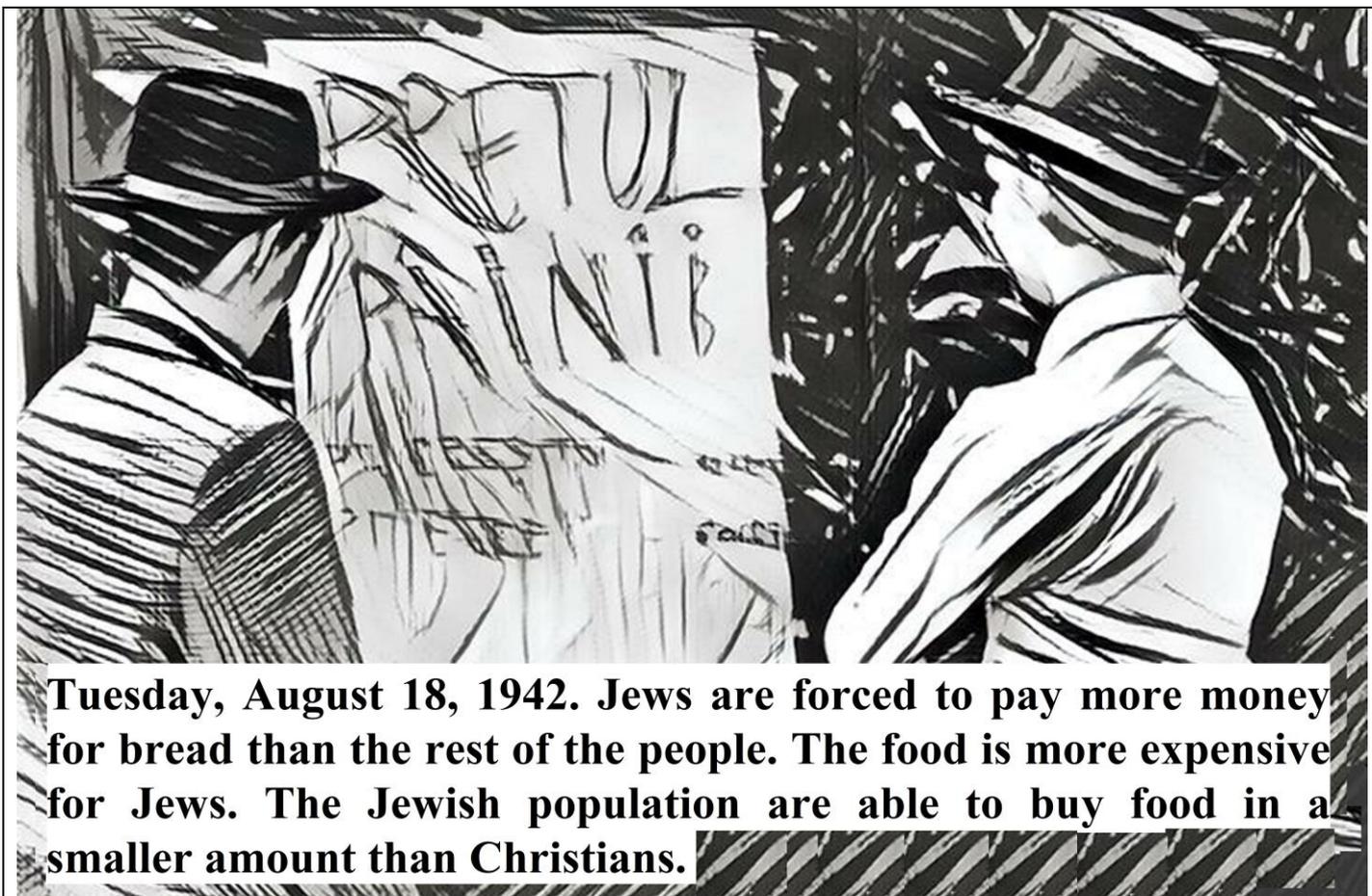
Tuesday, August 18, 1942. Jews from Romania must give their bicycles to the authorities.

Fragment from Journal



Tuesday, August 18 (1942)

„The Jews are handing the bicycles!” – enormous poster title of the afternoon newspapers. I burst into laughter without wanting. The anecdote of Jews and cyclists was automatically evoked.



Tuesday, August 18, 1942. Jews are forced to pay more money for bread than the rest of the people. The food is more expensive for Jews. The Jewish population are able to buy food in a smaller amount than Christians.

Fragment from Journal

Tuesday, August 18 (1942)

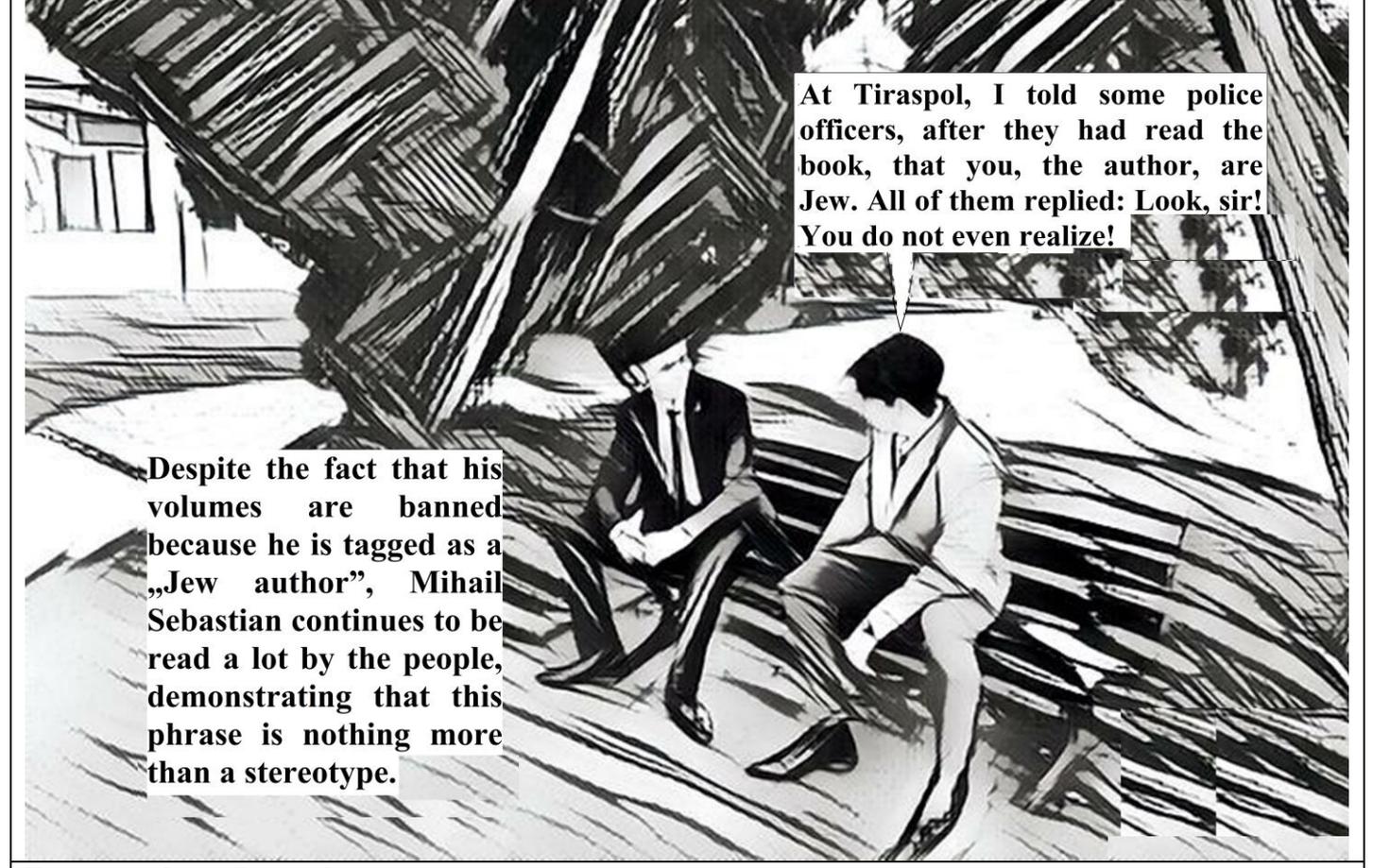
Starting from tomorrow The Jews will pay 20 lei per bread, and The Christians 15.

Wednesday, August 19 (1942)

Not 20, but 30 lei costs the bread for the Jews. For us it means with 1,000lei more per month – which represents something in our poor household accounts. But to the great Jewish pauperdom it is a tragedy. And, as long as we are still home all of it is supportable.

Sunday, August 23 (1942)

The week finished today brought three anti-Semitic measures: expensive bread, seized bicycles and – from the day before yesterday – the interdiction of having servants starting from the 1st of October. The fact that it is setting a kind of a series in which new measures of oppression are becoming automatic is alarming. You are asking yourself what's coming.



At Tiraspol, I told some police officers, after they had read the book, that you, the author, are Jew. All of them replied: Look, sir! You do not even realize!

Despite the fact that his volumes are banned because he is tagged as a „Jew author”, Mihail Sebastian continues to be read a lot by the people, demonstrating that this phrase is nothing more than a stereotype.

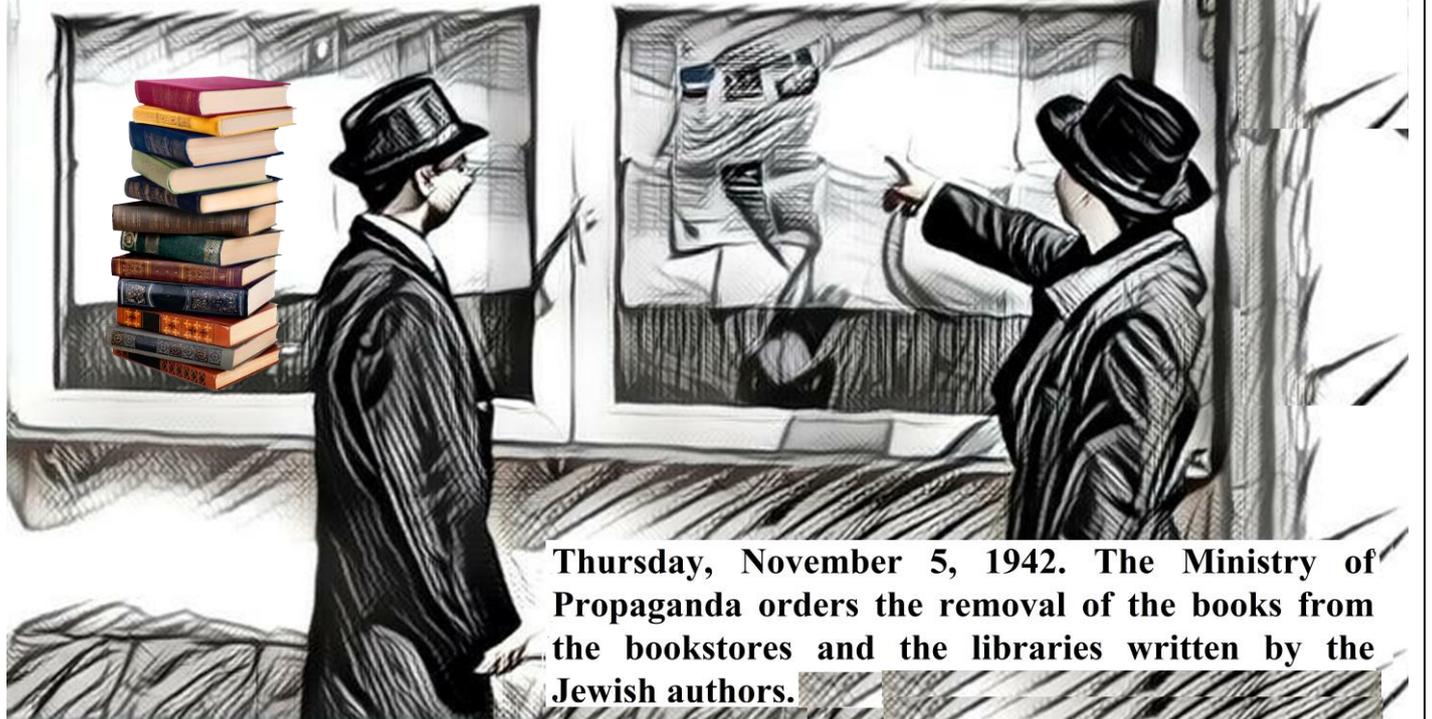
Fragment from Journal

Friday, September 25 (1942)

At Tiraspol – Braniște is telling me –, one of the most read books is „*The Accident*”. For a very simple reason: it is bought and it is read what it is found. Cărăbaș brought there 30 copies of „*The Accident*” and he opened them. To some officers, after they had read the book, and they had liked it, Braniște said that the author is Jew.

– Look, sir! You don’t even realize!

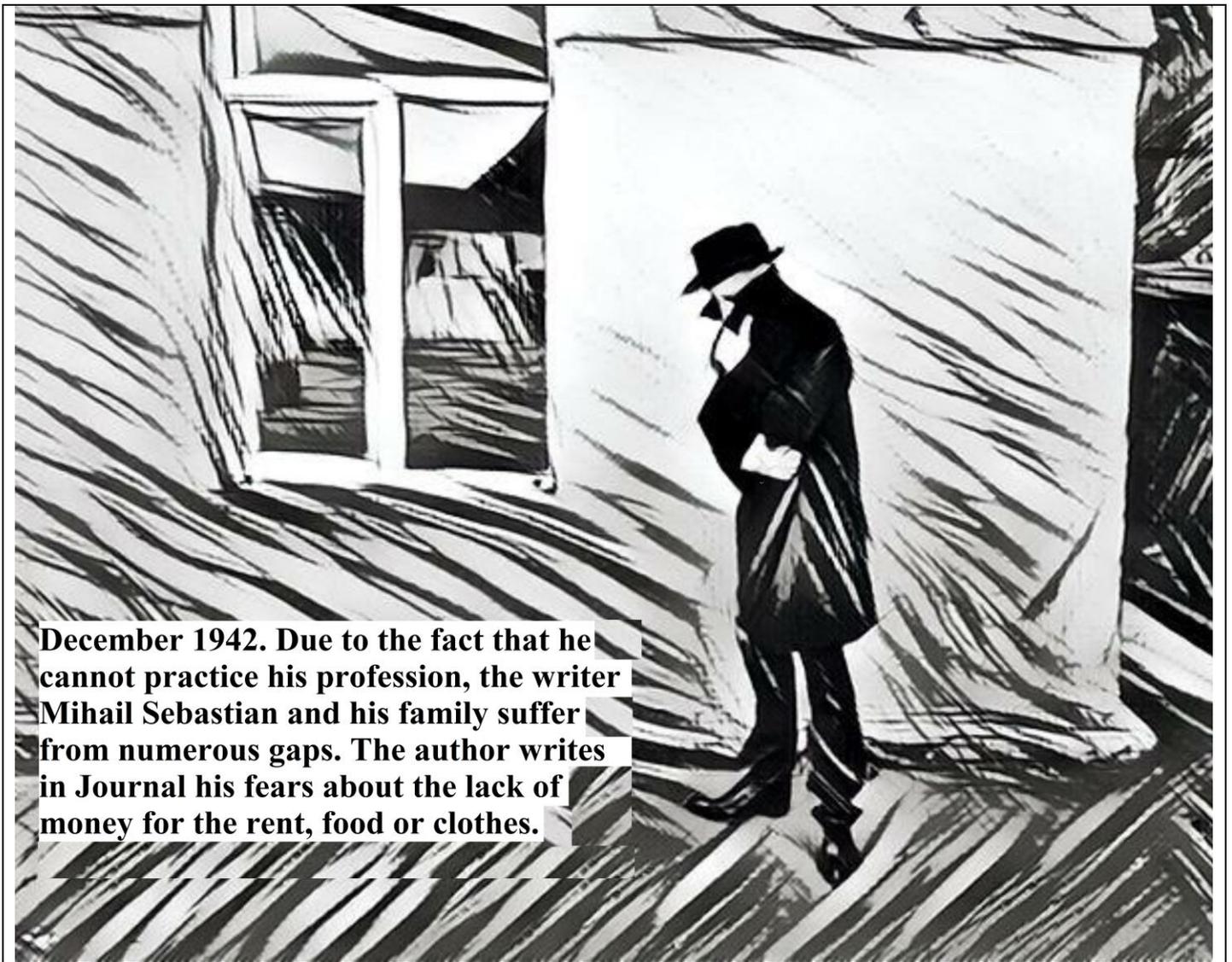
hachette



Fragment from Journal

Thursday, November 5 (1942)

An Ordinance of the Propaganda Ministry orders the books of Jewish authors to be removed from bookstores and libraries. I have saw today in “Hachette” two huge pictures printed with large letters: Jewish writers. Of course, I am there too, displayed as a delinquent, as a criminal: the name of the parents, date and year of birth, the list of books. There was just missing the physical description. First, I laughed (especially since the picture is full of inaccuracies), but then I thought that this display doesn’t do us any good. I’m afraid it will draw attention to us and who knows what’s coming out of it here? I haven’t been to the theater for two years, I haven’t been to restaurants, I have been hesitating to walk through the center, I haven’t seen no one anymore. I’m not looking for anyone, I’m trying to keep as far as possible, as alone as possible, as forgotten as possible – and now my name is in all bookstores.



December 1942. Due to the fact that he cannot practice his profession, the writer Mihail Sebastian and his family suffer from numerous gaps. The author writes in Journal his fears about the lack of money for the rent, food or clothes.

Fragment from Journal

Monday, September 22 (1941)

I haven't got any money and I don't know where to find. The rent needs to be paid in three days (if the owner wants to renew the agreement) and then I don't know what I am going to do. I will need to speak to Zissu one day – but with what chances?

Thursday, September 25 (1941)

93000 lei the owner is asking from me to renew the agreement. I will accept, of course, because a movement is impossible for now. The rental office does not even take in consideration the Jewish requests. I am told that new Jewish contracts can only be done in the Negru sector (Dudești-Văcărești). I'm totally at the discretion of my owner, who can ask me no matter how much he can make me to give how much he wants. We talked for half an hour, I tried to get a discount. It was humiliating, sadly stupid. I got out of there with exasperated nerves. I wanted, returning home, to burst, scream, cry.

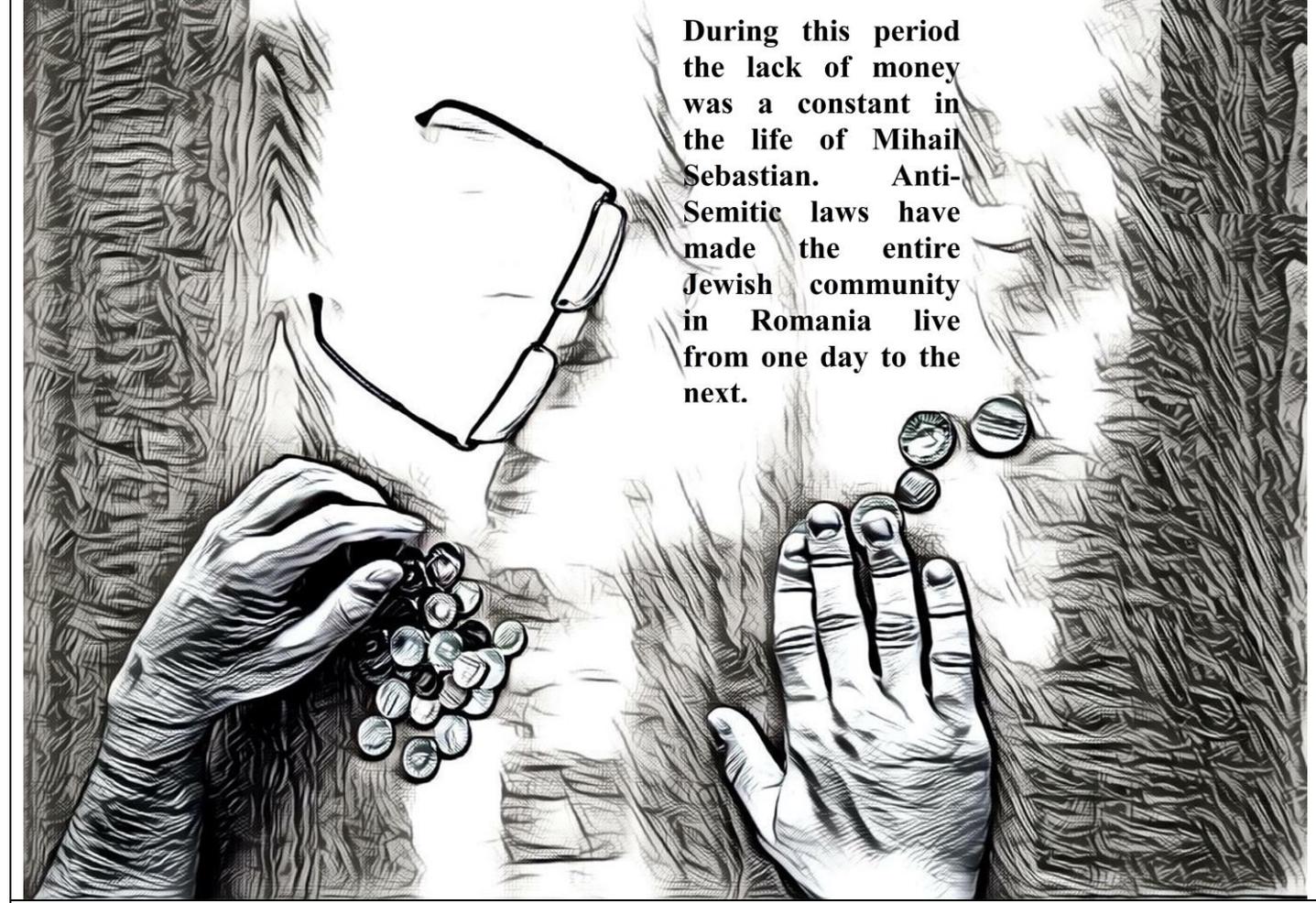
Saturday, September 27 (1941)

Where do I get the money? What will I give to my Mother for the daily use of money on Monday or Tuesday when the last 2000 Lei will end, which we have left until today, after paying the rent? When I don't think about suicide, I think about cadging.

Sunday, December 20 (1942)

I really live from one day to the next. I have a thousand lei in my pocket – and I don't know where I'll find the day after another one. I spend the money only for tram. I have left my tobacco for 10 days. Meanwhile, I have still received from school small sums of money, 2,000, 3,000, 4,000 – salary differences in the past months. It looks like that tomorrow they will give me the salary for the month of January (about 6,000, I

think). And then – I do not know at all. I won't pay the rent on 26, but I'll have to pay it one day, over a week or two. With what? From where?... My clothes are ripping. The boots are looking worse. I'm jammed, I'm tired, I'm done, I'm useless. From here to beg and ask – how much do I have?



During this period the lack of money was a constant in the life of Mihail Sebastian. Anti-Semitic laws have made the entire Jewish community in Romania live from one day to the next.

Fragment from Journal

Monday, September 29 (1941)

I've had 130 lei in my pocket. 100 I gave to my Mother and I'm left with 30. Tomorrow I need to find some money, but where? I'm ashamed to ask from him...

Wednesday, December 23 (1941)

Christmas Eve, with its hurrying, abundant, wealthy – all foreign to me. Luminous showcases, shops filled with people, shopping, white packs, gifts... I cannot buy anything. Until this morning, I did not have a penny. I was still wondering where to get 2-3 thousand lei to give my mother for the daily use of the four days of celebration. At 2 o'clock I got an envelope from Zissu, 10,000 I think. I did not have enough courage neither to read what he wrote, nor to count the money. I'm ashamed, I'm terribly ashamed. I wish I could give him the money back even tomorrow. I never felt any worse for someone before, than for this rich and so sordid man. 23th December - the day of rent. I met the owner in the yard, but I didn't tell him anything. Maybe he'll wait for me - but he has me on toast now anyway, and if he wants to, he can kick us out anytime.

Saturday, February 13 (1943)

14,000 lei snow tax for me and Benu. Until the 23th of February I have to pay other 40,000 on military taxes. And in March, the terrible problem of the rent. Where? With what? How? I don't dare to think.



Monday, January 4, 1943. The ration of bread which Jews are allowed to purchase is getting less and less. The economic measures against Jews are getting tougher.

Fragment from Journal

Thursday, September 10 (1942)

The Jews won't have bread one day out of five. The sugar ration is decreasing for the Jews from 200 grams to 100. Which, for Christians is maintaining to 600.

Monday, January 4 (1943)

Starting from today, the Jews don't have 50, but 100 grams of bread less than the Christians. Four out of ten daily rations are suppressed.

On August 23, 1944, Romania breaks the alliance with Nazi Germany and comes back to democracy, giving up anti-Semitic legislation. The Soviet troops occupy Romania, causing numerous disorders and enforcing a series of arbitrary decisions.



Fragment from Journal

Friday, September 1 (1944)

Puzzlement, fear, doubt. The Russian soldiers who violate women (Dina Cocea told the story yesterday). Soldiers who stop cars in the street, take down the driver and passengers, get on the wheel and disappear. Rubbed stores. Today's afternoon, at Zaharia, they invaded three and racked up the iron house, where they took clocks. (Clocks are the toys that they like more.) I cannot take too tragically all incidents or accidents. They seem normal to me. Really fair. It is not right for Romania to escape too easily. After all, this Bucharest is rich, impassive, frivolous, it's a challenge for an army coming from a desolate country. In the evening, an ordinance printed in Russian and Romanian, on small papers as a cinema program, forbids traffic on the streets after 9 o'clock and orders the handover of the radio. I have the impression that they are text-type, ready-made before the 23th of August and have not yet been canceled by the new situation created. Probably very soon everything will be clear. The Russians are, after all, in their own right. The disgusting ones are the citizens – Jews and Romanians put together.



September 1944. The soviet army's violent actions are the first signs of the totalitarian communism regime which will be established in Romania.

Fragment from Journal

Sâmbătă, 2 septembrie (1944)

Saturday, September 2 (1944)

I saw this morning a Soviet tanker fleeing a private car that it wanted to confiscate. Street incidents are continuing. Passers-by, to give the clock. The clock is the fixed idea of the Russian soldier. The ordinance from yesterday appeared in all newspapers today. Circulation ceases at 9 o'clock in the evening. The radio must be handed. It's not a very clear sign of freedom – and the world will be hard to grasp. But if it can be a lesson for Romanians who have practiced for 4 years on the Jews, it doesn't spoil them.



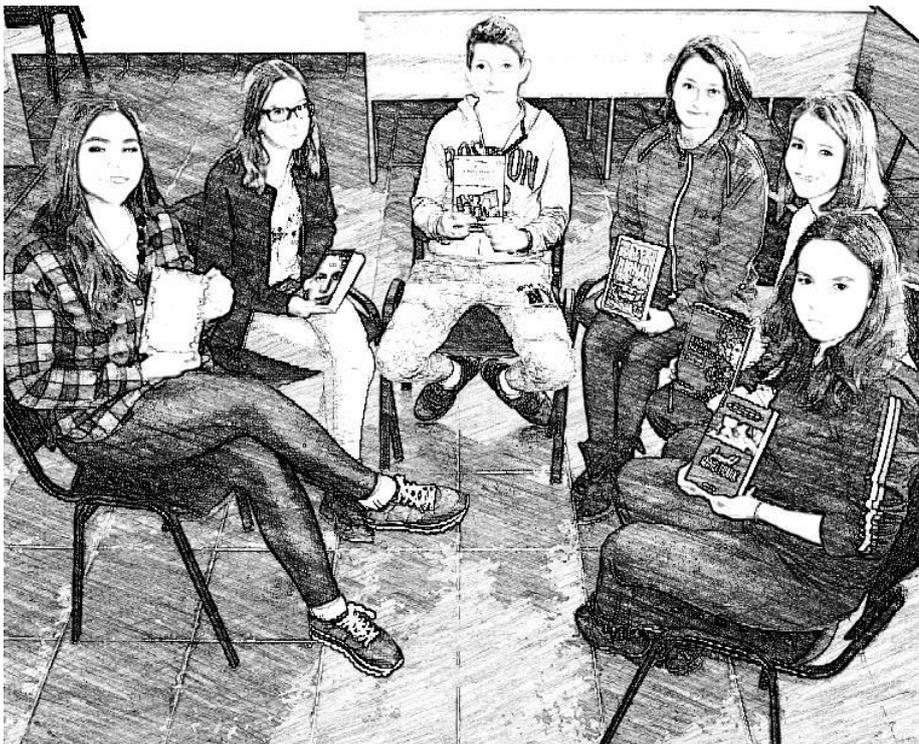
Mihail Sebastian (1907-1945)



How had been realized the didactic material „Human Rights Violation During the Holocaust in Mihail Sebastian’s Journal. A Graphic History”

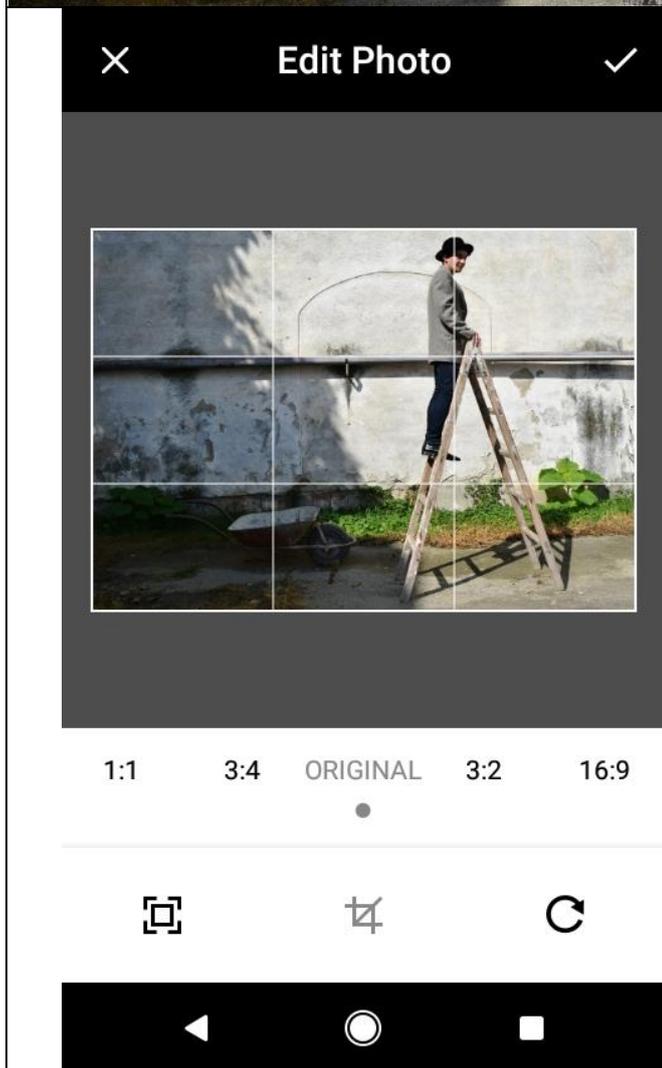
In the school year 2017/2018 within Colegiului Național „Iulia Hasdeu” worked the Circle „History of the Jews. The Holocaust”. In the spring of 2018 involved in the circle of „The History of Jews. The

Holocaust” had as a task the reading of Mihail Sebastian's journal and the drawing up worksheets to capture the way in which the life of writer Mihail Sebastian has been affected by anti-Semitic laws from Romania of the 1940s. The students in the Circle of „The History of the Jews. The Holocaust” assisted by coordinating teachers, have presented, within a special activity, the main passages describing the anti-Semitic legislation in the Mihail Sebastian’s Journal and the main human rights violated by this legislation. In the summer of 2018, following previous activity, on the basis of the Journal, it has been established some scenes to



be transformed into drawings for making a graphic educational material. The scenes have been chosen to reflect how the life of writer Mihail Sebastian was affected by the anti-Semitic legislation. The big problem which appeared in this project, at this moment, was that we did not have one drawer to draw the scenes for the graphic material. Following the participation in an Erasmus + project, Going Beyond the Middle Ground, the coordinating teachers learned about a range of programs and applications that can turn pictures into drawings. Project continued by taking photos, subsequently transformed into drawings with the help of programs and applications such as Art Filter, Pencil Sketch. With other programs photos have been imprinted and have become parts of the graphic material.





With the help of the computer the photo becomes a drawing

After creating the graphic material by the students, short methodological suggestions were added. It has been added an Annex with the Human Rights Statement and eloquent fragments of the Journal. After the material was realized in Romanian, it was translated into English. Thereby, this graphic history has become bilingual, it can be read both in Romanian and English.

Possible teaching activities

Based on this pedagogical material, numerous didactic activities can be realized. Here's what we suggest:

A. In a 50-minute activity, students (13-18 years) will discuss about anti-Semitism and the Human Rights.

1. The activity can start with a brainstorming with the word HOME. The students must discover the most important concepts of home.
2. After completing this part of the lesson, students divided into groups must look into the graphic material, a scene/journal fragment that corresponds to one of the notions about home.
3. Each group presents the scene and the discovered fragment and the reason of the choosing. The students have to describe in detail what happened.
4. The teacher will suggest students to look in the Annex, in the Human Rights Statement, to find out whether their chosen scene violated a fundamental right and which is it.
5. At the end of the activity, ask the students to describe how they will feel if they lose some of what „home” means for them or if a fundamental right is violated.

B. In a 50-minute activity, students (13-18 years) will discuss about anti-Semitism during the period of Antonescu's government and how the anti-Semitic legislation has affected the lives of the people of Jewish origin.

1. The students are divided into groups and each group has to choose a graphic from the graphic material.
2. After scrolling through the graphical material and the corresponding fragment from the Journal, each group has to search information on the internet about the law by which the Jews in Romania have been denied their right.
3. After the discovery of the information, one representant from each group presents to everyone in the class what has discovered his group as regards the anti-Semitic legislation in Romania in the 1940s.
4. At the end of the activity, each student should write a 10-15-line essay about what they would have been feeling if it had been banned a certain right of them (such as access to information/telephony, food, clothing, etc.)
5. At choice, depending on the time remaining, some of the essays will be read in front of the class.

Annex

United Nations General Assembly adopted on 10th December 1948, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

United Nations Organization was formed in 1945, at the end of World War II. By adopting this declaration, the organization's member countries tried to convict and prevent the actions and the measures through which the totalitarian states, appeared in the interwar period, broke the most elementary human rights, as they were expressed starting with Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article I

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding,

tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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